SPEECHES, STATEMENTS & MESSAGES OF THE QUAID-E-AZAM

Volume IV

1946 - 1948

Collected & Edited by

KHURSHID AHMAD KHAN YUSUFI

BAZM-E-IQBAL
Lahore - Pakistan

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Publisher's Note

It is a matter of great satisfaction for me that the prestigous project of publishing Quaid-i-Azam's Speeches and Statements 1934-48, in four volumes on which we embarked on many years ago is by the grace of Allah, in the last phase of its completion. Most of the material collected in this regard was ready for press three years before. But non-availability of funds unnecessarily delayed its publication.

This was the position of this project when I took charge of the Bazm-i-Iqbal in 1994. Bazm-i-Iqbal was already facing financial difficulties at that time, and with meagre resources it seemed an impossible task. However, I decided to carry on with this project as soon as possible. On seeing my determination few friends advised me to approach some literary foundations and institutions, which I did against my will, but without any positive response. I was not disappointed. I thought, that work should be done, and money will come afterwards. For practical reasons I curtailed some unnecessary ventures of the Bazm-i-Iqbal and tried some savings through contingent and other expenditures. Thus I was able to accumulate some funds necessary to start with the realisation of this auspicious project certain. Uptill now, three volumes of the project have been published, while the fourth one is in the press, which, I do hope, will also see the light of the day soon. The previous plan was to publish the last volume along with index, appendices, bibliography etc., but as this volume has already become bulky and this work will take some time, I have decided to publish those accessories in a seperate volume.

Here I must express my debt of gratitude to Khan Muhammad Aslam Khan Mamdot and his daughter Ms. Nahid Pervez Mamdot who have kindly provided some 25 reams of paper for the last volume, maintaining their family traditions of financially helping national works or projects of historical importance.

I am also grateful to M. Javid Tufail and Pervez Tufail of Naqoosh Press for their sincere efforts and full co-operation to realise this project in time.

Mr. Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, editor of this prestigous project deserves our gratitude most. With great patience and perseverance, he collected and arranged this valuable material single handed.

In these volumes, readers will find history of the struggle for independence and Pakistan movement, as well as the dynamic personality of this historic period, whose portrait has been painted by Allama Iqbal in this famous couplet of Bal-i-Jabril:

نگہِ بلند، سخن دلنواز، جاں پُرسوز
یہی ہے رختِ سفر میرِ کارواں کے لیے

Lahore

24th November, 1996

G. H. Zulfiqar.

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1060 Address to a gathering of the Civil Officers of Baluchistan of the rank of Naib-Tehsildars and above, Sibi, February 14. 2683

1061 Speech at a Press Conference, Sibi, February 14. 2684

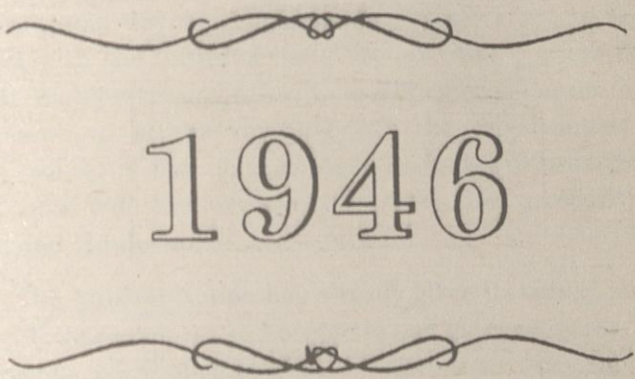
1062	Broadcast talk to the people of Australia, February 19.	2686
1063	Address to officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments, Malir (Karachi), February 21.	2690
1064	Broadcast talk on Pakistan to the people of the United States of America, Karachi, February .	2692
1065	Reply to the speech made by the first Ambassador of the United States of America at the time of presenting Credentials, Karachi, February 26.	2695
1066	Reply to the speech made by the first Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan at the time of presenting Credentials, Karachi, March 4.	2697
1067	Interview to Swiss Journalist, De Eric Streiff, special correspondent of the "*Neue Zurcher Zeitung*", Karachi, March 11.	2698
1068	Speech at the meeting of the Pakistan Red Cross Society held at the Governor-General's House, Karachi, March 15.	2700
1069	Speech at the Ceremonial Army Parade at Kurmitolla Airport, March 20.	2708
1070	Statement replying to various points raised by the deputation of the Scheduled Castes' Federation, Dacca, March 21.	2709
1071	Speech at a public meeting, Dacca, March 21.	2710
1072	Statement replying to a deputation of the Hindu members of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, Dacca, March 22.	2721
1073	Speech at the Dacca University Convocation, Dacca, March 24.	2722

1074	Address to the Gazetted Officers, Chittagong, March 25.	2729
1075	Message to the Pakistan Medical Association, (Dacca) Chittagang, March 26.	2732
1076	Speech at the public reception, Chittagong, March 26.	2732
1077	Broadcast speech from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, March 28.	2737
1078	Speech on the occasion of the presentation of new Pakistan coins and currency notes by the Finance Minister, Karachi, April 1.	2741
1079	Interview with members of Iranian Goodwill Mission, Karachi, April 9.	2742
1080	Speech in reply to the address of the French Ambassador M. Leon Marshall, Karachi, April 9.	2743
1081	Speech in reply to the address presented by the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar, April 12.	2744
1082	Message to the first Pakistan Olympic Games, Peshawar, April 12.	2749
1083	Speech to the Royal Pakistan Air Force, Station Risalpur, April 13.	2750
1084	Address to officers and men of 3rd Armoured Brigade, Risalpur, April 13.	2751
1085	Address to Officers and Men of Pakistan Armoured Corps Centre, Naushera, April 13.	2752
1086	Informal talk to Civil Officers at Government House, Peshawar, April 14.	2754
1087	Address at the Presentation of Colours to the 2/15th Punjab Machine-Gun Regiment, Peshawar, April 15.	2757
1088	Address to the Tribal Jirga at Government House, Peshawar, April 17.	2759

1089	Speech in reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Principal, Staff and Students of the Edwards College, Peshawar, April 18.	2761
1090	Address to a public meeting, Peshawar, April 20.	2764
1091	Speech at the opening ceremony of the First Pakistan Olympic Games, Karachi, April 22.	2765
1092	Speech in reply to the Adress presented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Karachi, April 27.	2766
1093	Message to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on his appointment as Governor-General of the Indian Dominion, Karachi, May 5.	2776
1094	Address in reply to the speech made by the Ambassador of Afghanistan at the time of presenting Credentials, Karachi, May 8.	2776
1095	Speech in reply to the Address presented by a Deputation of members of the Quetta Parsi community, Quetta, June 13.	2777
1096	Address to the Officers of the Staff College, Quetta, June 14.	2780
1097	Speech in reply to the Civic Address presented by the Quetta Municipality, Quetta, June 16.	2782
1098	Speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi, July 1.	2785
1099	Message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, Karachi, August 6.	2788
1100	Message to the Nation on the occasion of the First Anniversary of Pakistan, Karachi, August 14.	2790

ABBREVIATIONS

AFM	Archives of Freedom Movement
AICC	All-India Congress Committee
AIML	All-India Muslim League
A.P.	Associated Press
A.P.A.	Associated Press of America
A.P.I.	Associated Press of India
B.B.C.	British Broadcasting Corporation
C.P.	Central Provinces
F.	File
F.O.C.	From Own Correspondent
F.O.S.	From Own Sources
H.E	His/Her Excellency
H.E.H	His Exalted Highness
H.H.	His/Her Highness
H.M.	His/Her Majesty
H.M.G	His/Her Majesty's Government
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
K.B.	Khan Bahadur
M.L.A.	Member Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member Parliament
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
O.P.	Orient Press
O.P.I.	Orient Press of India
p./pp.	page/pages
Q.A.P.	Quaid-e-Azam Papers
U.P.	United Provinces
U.P.A.	United Press of America


1946

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Message to "Dawn" on Victory Day, New Delhi, January 10, 1946.

In a message to "*Dawn*" Qaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah said: "I congratulate the Musalmans who are going to celebrate the unique victory, on the 11th of January, in the first round of the battle of election to the Central Assembly. The cent per cent success is unparalleled in the history of any country or any nation, that the Muslim Nation has given already. I am happy that Muslim India has rallied completely under the flag of the All-India Muslim League and it is our grim determination to achieve Pakistan.

"On this day of this glorious victory, I say to those concerned with the future of India: Do not think you can trifle with us or manoeuvre and resort to machinations in order to get the Muslims to accept anything but the establishment of Pakistan which is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and will lead to peace, security and prosperity of Pakistan and Hindustan.

"The Muslim Nation has already given its verdict and it will face all consequences and obstacles and make every sacrifice that it may be called upon to do. We mean what we say and will not be deviated by any threats, manoeuvre and machinations on the part of the Congress or the British Government. We will face any and every opposition at all costs.

"There remains for us to march forward and sweep the provincial polls as we have already done and won the first round of the Central Assembly elections. Our is a grim determination. There is no illusion and there should be nobody under any delusion that we stand for the establishment of Pakistan at any cost, whatever the opposition."

QAP-F-810/p.108 &
The Dawn, January 11, 1946.

794

Appeal to the voters of Kotri-Sehwan constituency not to vote for 'Deserter Syed', New Delhi, January 10, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah has appealed to the constituency of Mr. G.M. Syed to whole-heartedly support Mr. Shah Mir of Karachi, who is contesting a seat in the Sind Assembly against Mr. Syed, says an Orient Press message. Mr. M.A. Jinnah states: "I am sorry to say that at last and at most critical moment Mr. Syed has stabbed the Muslim League organisation in the back. He has been expelled from the League by the Committee of Action and he no longer stands on the League ticket. It was, therefore, too late to put up a candidate officially in that constituency as Mr. Syed's action was deliberately timed so as to prevent the League from putting up a candidate, but fortunately Shah Mir of Karachi, who has been a Leaguer and was a member of the Provincial Council happened to put up nomination papers and is contesting this seat against Mr. Syed.

Although for technical reasons we have not been able to give him an official League ticket, for all intents and purposes he is a Leaguer and I am assured that he will remain loyal to the League and as such I appeal to the Muslims of Sind in general and those of Kotri-Sehwan Constituency (Mr. Syed's Constituency) in particular to support whole-heartedly Mr. Shah Mir of Karachi and thus demonstrate their disapproval and displeasure over the conduct and actions of Mr. Syed who, as they know, has already been expelled from the League organisation."(O.P.)

The Dawn, January 13, 1946.

795

Speech at a public meeting held to celebrate the Victory of Muslim League in the Central Assembly Elections, Delhi, January 11, 1946.

Addressing a mammoth meeting of about two lakhs of Muslims in the Urdu Park, opposite Jamia Mosque, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, offered his heartiest congratulations to the Muslim Nation in India for their hundred per cent success in the last elections to the Central Assembly and thanked them for casting their votes in favour of the Muslim League candidates.

"We have completed the first round of our fight and are beginning the second round" observed Mr. Jinnah in the course of his speech in Urdu. "Today on January 11 the Victory Day is being celebrated not only in Delhi but all over the country. This is the happiest day for us", added the Quid-e-Azam.

Referring to the charges that the Muslim League is an organisation of Nawabs, Nawabzadas and title-holders Mr. Jinnah asked the audience whether this vast gathering of about two lakhs consisted of Nawabs and titleholders. (applause) How many of us were Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs. It is all false propaganda against our organisation, unless there were masses with them," Mr. Jinnah said, "Nawabs and title-holders could do nothing."

Unprecedented Victory

"While I congratulate you on your hundred per cent success in these elections, "continued Mr. Jinnah, "I hope and pray Muslims will emerge again victorious in the Provincial elections. All the political parties in foreign countries are amazed at the unprecedented success of the Muslim League because such success has never been achieved in the election history of the world. Hitler and Mussolini with their concentration camps, Gestapo and military could not secure hundred per cent success

in the elections. We have got no such things with us but we have won a splendid victory. It was all due to the love and devotion of the Musalmans to the All-India Muslim League. The Muslim League cannot force any body to vote for its candidates. We can only expel a person from our organisation and he joins the opposite camp where he gets money.

Pack of Self-seekers

"The Muslims, who are working with our enemies against us, are self seekers," Mr. Jinnah said, "They fought the Muslim League and intend to fight us in the future with Congress' help and Congress money. Despite their unsporting tactics they suffered a stunning defeat and *'Inshaallah,'* the same fate is awaiting them in the provincial elections. All that we need is unity and co-operation among Muslims. If that is maintained no power on earth can defeat us.

"After working for the last eight or nine years the Muslim League has become a very strong organisation, and I know you are prepared for any sacrifice "said Mr. Jinnah. "Today Musalmans can fight even the British Government. But at present I want only your votes for the Muslim League candidates. Although Delhi Province will not be required to vote in the provincial election, a time will come when Delhi Muslims will have to elect their own representative. I am glad to note that Indian Muslims have realised their strength and today they stand under one flag and on one platform. They know the purpose for which they stand.

Life-and-death Issue

Mr. Jinnah concluded: 'The Musalmans of India should remember that in case they fail to get Pakistan they shall perish. The question of Pakistan is a question of life and death for Muslims; and I am confident every Musalman knows it. It is no use telling you about Pakistan at a stage when even a Muslim child understands it."

The Dawn, January 12, 1946.

796

Speech at a Public Meeting, Lahore, January 13, 1946.

Expressing his gratefulness for the reception accorded to him by the Musalmans of Lahore at the railway station, Mr. M. A. Jinnah speaking at a mammoth meeting held in the Islamia College grounds in the afternoon said in a most affectionate tone, "If you want to see me, I want to see you all the more."

There were about 2 lakhs Muslims gathered to see and hear their leader.

Mr. Jinnah, who spoke in simple Urdu with typical Bombay accent said that he had been trying to visit the Punjab for the last one month or so but every time he had to postpone it on account of last-minute fresh and new developments. "In Delhi also something is happening. I mean in the Viceroy's House. The Parliamentary Delegation was also there. A meeting with them was also necessary," added the League leader elucidating his point.

Khizar-Glancy Axis

Referring to the speech of Raja Ghazanfer Ali in the course of which he had complained of the Government interference in the Provincial elections, Mr. Jinnah said, "This is all correct. And people outside this Province also admit this interference. All this is due to the Khizer-Glancy axis."

Sadly Mr. Jinnah remarked, "There are some Muslims in India who are playing into the hands of the Government or the Congress. They can be counted on the finger. They are quislings."

"We have got no power, no concentration camps, no Gestapo, no army. But the Muslim nation of India is ready to die for the one object—Pakistan.Is it not wonderful? It is all because the Mussalmans have begun to understand things."

"They consider Pakistan as their cherished goal. It is really so."

"There is no Muslim League. Jinnah is mad. The League is an agent of British imperialism. And so on so forth. This was the nature of Congress propaganda which it used to do in this country and in foreign countries too. The League's success, your success in the Assembly elections has proved conclusively the utter falsehood of Congress propaganda."

"Now when you have defeated that so-called National Congress, when you consider Pakistan as a question of your life and death, when you are prepared to undergo all hardships, to sacrifice your all for the achievement of Pakistan, what can this Khizar-Glancy axis do? Let the Governor go mad."

Go To Villages

"I ask you to go to villages. Tell the villagers not to fear anybody. A Muslim fears only God, the Almighty."

"I assure you then that the Unionists' unfair and foul tactics will not succeed in curbing the power of the masses. The more the Government suppress us, the more shall we be conscious of our rights. With courage and honesty we can face everybody and every interference. We are on trial and we will emerge victorious."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah, said, "If we succeed in these elections, we will go ahead. Pakistan will be ours. No power on earth can prevent us from getting it."

"We have nothing for show Pakistan is our creed. Our programme is clear. We are determined to get Pakistan either by agreement or by force."

"And when the proper time comes, when sacrifice will be demanded, I will not lag behind." Shouting this the strong-willed Muslim leader finished his address.

The Eastern Times, January 15, 1946.

797

Address to the Muslim students of Local Colleges, Lahore, January 17, 1946.

"The Hindus cannot give us Pakistan, they themselves are slaves. It can be had only from those who are dominating us. Hindus are holding up the freedom of the peoples of this land by opposing the demand of Pakistan.

"I have come to the Punjab to see with my own eyes the situation here, to see what we are doing on this front of the battlefield and to see what real, concrete, and practical help I can offer."

From the information he received through various sources, he felt the Punjab had been completely revolutionised. Not many years ago, the Punjabees were afraid of using the word Pakistan, but the fear complex had disappeared now and even the villagers were not afraid of the bureaucracy." The Punjabees,"he said "had regained their soul and boldly gave expression to their views. They at last had acquired the freedom of thought and expression. But there were many difficulties that faced them. The Governor, his stream of asses and puppets are not ashamed of the monstrous, grave and criminal day-light interference in the elections."

"The attention of the authorities, including the Viceroy had been drawn to their mischievous machinations, "he said. He fully discussed the matter with Lord Wavell in their last meeting. Nothing, it seems, was done to redress these complaints."The day of retribution and judgment, however, is coming and they will not escape law and justice."

"We are fighting the bureaucracy and every Punjabee, whether Muslim, Hindu or Sikh, ought to be grateful to us for the League was pulling down the citadel of bureaucracy in this province. If we had free and fair elections, the League would have achieved cent per cent success.'Vote according to your consicence'is the message I ask you to carry to the villages."

Earlier Mr. Jinnah thanked the students and said that the Islamia College had done great work."I have not the power to give medals and land. Your reward is that you are serving the nation most sincerely."

The Principal Dr.Omar Hayat Malik, welcomed Mr. Jinnah and paid tributes to his unique personality which had rejuvenated the Muslim Nation in India.

Referring to the Congress, he said that it had been carrying on the false propaganda that the League was full of Nawabs, Khan Bahadurs and landlords and the Muslims masses were behind the Congress. Yet it was only when challenged by the League that the Congressites put up two Muslims in Bengal. It, however, gave a cowardly account of itself by supporting some nondescript nationalist Muslims in various constituencies. Lacs and lacs of rupees, earned in the blackmarket, were spent for black purposes. The result, however, was disastrous for the Congress.

The League victory in the first round of the constitutional battle had silenced the Congress and amazed the entire world. The League now was preparing for the second round. Release your boys for the next two months to go to the front of battle-field. Never mind neglecting studies. It is a great crisis in the constitutional fight."The Congress, he added, would not go straight, and might create trouble though he was sure it would meet no better fate.

The League started work in the Punjab only two years ago when it broke away from the Unionists. The leaders had worked incessantly with all enemies and no friends. Financially the Punjab was inefficient. The Provincial League did not have sufficient funds. "I shall help the Punjab even though I may have to borrow. Rise and give me sliver bullets. It is essential otherwise I would not ask."

Concluding, the Quaid-e-Azam said, "The Hindus are holding up the freedom of this land, by opposing the demand of Pakistan. They want to rule India; they want to be the sole heirs

and successors of the British. It is a foolish dream. Freedom cannot be achieved without Pakistan."

The Eastern Times, January 18, 1946.

Another Version:

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a crowded meeting of Muslim students at the Lahore Islamia College Hall commented on the recent speech of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wherein he had declared that the Muslim League had succeeded in the Central elections but it would not decide the issue says an A.P.I. report.

Mr. Jinnah said: "The Congress leaders speak whatever suits them and they never give up their defence. They have been claiming to represent Muslims. Why did they not put up Congressite Muslims instead of the so-called Nationalist Muslims. It was a cowardly act on the part of the Congress.

"Today the Congress is silent over the cent per cent success of the Muslim League in the Central elections and the world abroad, which they had been misleading by false propagands is amazed and stunned.

"The Congress had run away in the first round of the battle when they did not put up a single Congressite to Muslim League; but, instead supported the so-called Nationalist Muslims and gave them lakhs of rupees of the black market meant for black purposes.

We secured cent per cent success in the elections and what is more the bulk of our opponents lost their securities. Some of them also saved some money that the Congress gave them. We won the first round of the battle."

Pakistan Freedom For All

Mr. Jinnah said that Pakistan did not mean freedom for Muslims only, but for all the peoples of this sub-continent, it were the Hindus, he declared who were holding up the

independence and freedom of this land. They dream of "*Jai Hind*" "*Bharat Mata*" and "*Akhand Hindustan*."

Mr. Jinnah thanked the Punjab Mulsim League for their magnifiers and their sacrifices for the cherished goal of Pakistan and said that he was glad to say that all parts of the Punjab had been completely revolutionised. Never had such things happened in the Punjab, where people were afraid to use the word Pakistan.

"Your heart," he said, "was beating and your soul was astir, but conditions were such that you could not give expression to your sentiments.

"Now you have regained your soul. You are not free from that dread, but you have acquired freedom of thought and expression and you are now acting in this election campaign."

Mr. Jinnah said, that they were faced with a great crisis in the constitutional development of the country and asked the Muslim students to go to the election battlefield even at the cost of their studies and carry the message of the League, every village, every district, every constituency, and every voter."

Official Interference

Referring to complaints of official interference in the elections, Mr. Jinnah said that several representations had been made to the Governor of the Punjab whose puppets and creatures were not ashamed to act in a manner which was highly detrimental to the Muslims of the Punjab. The matter had also come up for discussion during his recent meeti the Viceroy, but to no purpose.

"We shall," Mr. Jinnah declared, "find methods to overcome all these manoeuvres and machinations of the Glancy Khizar Axis. The day of retribution and judgement is coming and they shall not escape the long arm of law and justice."

Mr. Jinnah said: "The Unionist Party is not a party, it is a clique. The non-Muslims should be thankful to us that the Muslim League is the precursor of democracy in this province."

"He also complained about the insufficiency of petrol and transport and asked the students to convey his message that it would not be too great a sacrifice to the voters, if they walked to the polling booths.

"If today we have free and fair elections the Muslim League" Mr. Jinnah declared, "will secure cent per cent seats. People are with us. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. Jinnah then appealed for "Silver Bullets" and said: "We cannot fight a battle without arms and ammunition, I want silver bullets. The Bombay Muslims and our brothers in South Africa have given the greatest financial help."

He asked the Punjab Muslims who had lot of money to emulate the example of their brethren in Bombay and South Africa and send the money to him direct.

"He was," he said, "responsible for the control and management of the funds and the account books were open to everyone.

Principal O. H. Malik of the Islamia College, welcoming Mr. Jinnah said: "Mr. Jinnah is a unique personality in the history of Indian Muslims. After the downfall of the Moghul Empire, never was there a Muslim in India who commanded the united allegiance of all Muslims. It is he who gave birth to the Muslim nation in India and has done great service to the whole country by showing a way to her independence, which is only through accepting Pakistan."

The Dawn, January 18, 1946.

The main points of Mr. Jinnah's great speech to the students of Islamia College, Lahore, on Thursday January 17, were reported

in Saturday's "Dawn". Here are some further excerpts from the speech of the Quaid-e-Azam.

"Students of the Islamia College and others have done wonderful work," Mr. Jinnah said, "I have not adequate words to praise all you have done and the sacrifices you have made. How sincerely and selflessly you have worked! I have no power to give you medals and shields or squares of land. (Laughter), But your reward is that you are serving your nation selflessly and sincerely.

"I have come to the Punjab to see with my own eyes as to what is the situation here. What are we doing on this front of the battlefield. I wanted to understand with first-hand information as to what are your difficulties and what line of action systematically and regularly are we to bring about. In these days I have been examining the minutest details of all that has been happening and all that is possible for us to do. I am really happy with your leaders and provincial high command for the work that they have done so far, I have also been seeing many number of people, rich and poor alike; from all parts of the province. This is besides the letters which I get by hundreds from all parts of the Punjab. I find that the Punjab is completely revolutionised. Never such a thing existed in the province in the past.

"I know there are many difficulties in your way. You have to fight this monstrous, gross, daylight criminal interference by officials in elections. Every part of the Punjab is crying out. Press is full of it. Representations have been made but Governor's creatures and puppets are not ashamed to act in a manner that is most detrimental to Muslims. (Shame .... shame). This is Glancy-Khizr Axis.

Unionists on last legs

"The Unionists are on their last legs; they are on the last ditch and they are doomed. Gentlemen, we are not fighting the ephemeral Unionist Party but we are fighting the bureaucracy. Every honest Punjabee, be he a Hindu or Sikh ought to be

grateful to us. The Muslim League is pulling down the citadel of bureaucracy in the Punjab." (Cheers).

Mr. Jinnah then referred to "another opponent" under the nomenclature of Indian National Congress. "But," Mr. Jinnah said, "inspite of their black-market money we carried cent per cent seats minus zero in the Central Assembly elections."

Referring to Congress leaders, Mr. Jinnah said that they claimed that they did not contest Muslim seats on Congress ticket. "But," asked Mr. Jinnah, "who prevented you from doing this? Why did you not put up your own candidate? Why this cowardly attitude in putting up nondescript Muslims under Nationalist cover? Referring to Congress press Mr. Jinnah said that inspite of its attitude to mislead and deceive the public abroad the Muslim League position has been fully grasped by the intelligent people abroad. "This is the result of the first round," he said.

Addressing Dr. O. H. Malik Principal, Islamia College, Mr. Jinnah said; "You have done splendid work. There is a great crisis in the constitutional struggle for independence. The next two months are extremely important for us. Release your boys and face this crisis. Let them go to the fire of the battle. If other nations that are fighting can command and conscript their young men to face bullets, is it too much to sacrifice two months for going to the battle front to win elections for our nation?" (Cheers).

Referring to the Punjab Muslim League, he said that it really commenced its work two years ago, when we broke off from the wretched Unionist Party. Till then we had traitors and quislings in our midst who were doing their utmost not to let us do anything. This octopus that was sitting on our chest has now been thrown over.

"I have my eyes and ears inveterated on what is going on in the Punjab for the last two years. Gentlemen, you are fortunate that your leaders have worked ceaselessly. They have

fought their way and I am glad to notice that there is least amount of friction amongst leaders in this province. If there are any shortcomings you must make allowance that the League is not as well organised here as yet.

Referring to the League funds, Mr. Jinnah said: "You cannot fight without arms and ammunitions. I say to the Punjab, I am going to help you because there is an emergency. Even if I have to borrow, I will do so, I say to the Punjab. We have to finish our job all over India. If you want us to win this battle send me more and more of silver bullets. It is essential. You can send your money in annas and rupees, by cheques, drafts and registered post parcels. But it must be sent to me direct. I am responsible for the control and accounting of funds before the Muslim Nation. Our accounts are open to any bona fide Muslim. (Laughter) I am glad you realise the meanings of bona fide."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said I have no doubt that we are going to sweep polls inspite of official interference.

Addressing a word to non-Muslims, he said: "Any honest man must admit that Muslim India's fight for Pakistan is not directed against Hindus. From whom we can take Pakistan. "Not from Hindus. They are themselves slaves. It has to be wrested from un-willing hands of those who are now dominating over us. It does not only mean freedom of Muslims but it also means freedom for all. If Hindus agree to divide, I think, we can finish the job very quickly. If they don't agree, because of impossible dreams of ruling over all India, they are directly responsible for the slavery of whole of this sub continent.

"What do the Hindus want. These dreams of *Jai Hind*, *Bharat Mata* and *Akhand Hindusthan* are foolish dreams. In plain language they amount to asking us for our consent to be transferred from the charge of English Imperialism to that of Hindu Imperialism."

"Freedom can never be achieved without Pakistan." (A.P.I)

The Dawn, January 20, 1946.

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Speech at a Ladies' meeting, Lahore, January 17, 1946.

" I ask Hindus: What have you to lose by Pakistan?' Mr. M. A. Jinnah posed this question at an exclusively women's gathering in Lahore and proceeded to say: "I tell them (Hindus): You agree to hold three-fourths of India. Let us hold the remaining one-fourth. We will then both get rid of British domination and live in honour and freedom. We will then both live in amity and friendliness," says an A.P.A. report.

Mr. Jinnah explained the Pakistan demand and said: "We want Muslim rule in Baluchistan, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Bengal and Assam, where the Muslims are in majority."

"If we do not succeed in our struggle for Pakistan, the very trace of Muslims and Islam will be obliterated from the face of India," he added.

"Now we are the slaves of the British and if we do not get Pakistan, we shall be slaves of the Hindus. How can we tolerate this? How can we accept that position (cries of 'never')."

"Today the Muslims are ready to die for Pakistan and I assure you no power on earth can resist our demand."

Mr. Jinnah attacked "the Glancy-Khizr Axis," and said: "Glancy bureaucracy is working in a tyrannical way. Right from zaildars, tehsildars, magistrates to commissioners are working in a tyrannical manner. The bureaucracy is interfering with elections and is corrupting the people.

The Habibia Hall, where Mr. Jinnah spoke in Urdu, was jammed with women and girls. Frequently the hall rang with Pakistan slogans raised by the gathering of fair folk. Green—the Pakistan green—seemed to be the most popular colour. Many wore long green scarves and miniature green Pakistan maps on their long—flowing shirts. They sat listening with their veils lifted.

While at the fringe of the hall, behind a high thick opaque canvas-curtain, stood a dozen newsmen striving all the while to catch the speech with their ears glued to the canvas. (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, January 18, 1946.

Further excerpts:-

"We are only demanding what is absolutely due to us. I say to the Hindus: "Live with freedom and honour in Hindustan and let us live with freedom and honour in Pakistan. We shall live like good neighbours. Let us turn out the British from India on the basis of this fair deal," declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a crowded gathering of Muslim women in the Habibia Hall, Lahore.

In the course of his speech Mr. Jinnah said: "Why are we fighting for Pakistan? Why is it that Muslims—man, woman and child—are prepared to shed their blood for Pakistan ? Because if we don't achieve Pakistan, Islam and Muslims will perish in India. We shall be reduced to the status of Sudras.

"Muslims do not want a change of masters. They shall never become the slaves of Hindus. Why do the Hindus insist on our shouting. "*Gandhi-ji-ki-jai*"? We shall never, never accept it (shouts of "Allaho-Akabar").

Referring to the Hindu press Mr. Jinnah said that it contained 99 percent malicious propaganda against the Muslim League.

"It revels "he added "in telling the world that Muslim League is an organisation of Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs and that Mr. Jinnah is the lonely cry in favour of Pakistan. But what have the results of Central Assembly election proved? Why are the Congress leaders keeping mum over it now?

The Central Assembly elections have completely neutralized the false propaganda of the Congress Press against the Muslim League.

There is no parallel in history of the world to the cent per cent League victory in the Central Assembly elections."

Referring to the provincial elections, Mr. Jinnah said "Punjab is the sword-arm of Pakistan. Your responsibility is great. Work hard so that you have cent per cent victory in elections.

Enemies At Work

"I know what the Governor, the bureaucracy, Tehsildars, Zaildars, Magistrates and Commissioners are doing. They are all working against you. They want to coerce, intimidate and corrupt Muslims. But what of it?

"I was reading in the Press that King Ibn-i-Saud of Arabia was offered 25 million pounds by some Jewish agency to remain silent on the issue of Pakistan. But what was his answer? His answer was 'I will not sell my people and faith at any price'. He cursed the man who made this offer 25 million times (cheers).

"This is the time for our trial. The Punjab is not afraid now. You have acquired freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Now you must acquire freedom of action. Demonstrate it in the elections. Break this Glancy-cum-Bureaucracy-cum-Unionist-cum-Hindu combination against the Muslim League."

Concluding, he said: "If we all unite under the banner of the Muslim League, as we have already shown in the Central assembly elections, I assure you nothing in the world can stop us from achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan".

The Dawn, January 19, 1946.

799

Statement on the Elections in Punjab, Lahore, January 18, 1946.

"I have been here now for about a week, in order to survey the election campaign and the various developments that are taking place in Punjab, and to give such practical and concrete help to the Provincial Muslim League as is necessary for our success here. I have fully discussed matters with a large body of our leaders and many other people during my stay here and I must say that the Mussalmans of the Punjab are solidly behind the Muslim League and if the elections were free and fair, I feel that the Muslim League would secure cent per cent success.

Fight With Bureaucracy

"But I have been reliably informed that our difficulties are created by the methods and manoeuvres of the so-called Unionist Party. It is really the Glancy-Khizar Axis and the League has got to fight the bureaucracy of the Punjab under the puppet leadership of Malik Khizar Hayat and his associates, who are unfortunately carrying out the behest of the bureaucracy and harming the vital interests of Muslim India. Moreover the methods and manoeuvres that they are resorting to are both disgraceful. There is the grossest undue interference by the officials in these elections. The prospective voters and the workers of the Muslim League are being coerced, threatened, intimidated and persecuted.

"All representations have been made. The press is full of instances that have already taken place and are still taking place. The attention of the Viceroy and the Government of India has been repeatedly drawn to all these machinations and manoeuvres of the miserable so-called Unionists and the clique of the quislings and henchmen of Glancy. But all representations have met with a deaf ear and nothing has been done to prevent these shameful and criminal tactics on the part of the Ministry

in power headed by Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, whose one and one policy is to serve his masters.

Remarkable Change

"But, inspite of all this I was very glad to see with my own eyes that there is a tremendous up surge and complete solidarity amongst the Muslims of the Punjab. I have also noticed another remarkable change—first, the Musalmans do not suffer any longer from fear complex or dread of the tin-gods of the Punjab. The Mussalmans have recovered their soul and are now determined to resist lawfully and by all legitimate methods all the obstacles and difficulties that are put in their way. Secondly, they have secured freedom of thought and speech, unknown to them before, and now these elections have given them an opportunity to act as free men and I am confident of our success in the Punjab.

Go To Polling Booths Walking

"I say to the Muslims and the voters in particular, that apart form these disgraceful tactics other practical difficulties will be put in their way to handicap them. Amongst others, the main difficulty, as I have learnt, is of securing enough petrol and adequate transport. I say to our workers and voters who want to support the League candidates that if you can't get conveyance if you can't get petrol, trudge to the polling stations, go to the booths walking. May be you have to walk miles. After all it is not such a very great sacrifice. Go and record your vote fearlessly and conscientiously in favour of the candidates whom you want to support.

"As regards these and other unlawful activities of our opponents, we may not be able to handle them immediately, but they will not escape the hand of law and justice. They will rue the day for having resorted to illegal official interference and unfairness. Retribution and judgement await them.

Congress And Nationalist Muslims

"Another party in the country that will do its best to disrupt Muslims and which too is on its last legs, is the so-called 'Indian National Congress', which is neither Indian nor National nor Congress. It is a Fascist Grand Council out for caste Hindu imperialistic domination all over India. As we have already shown so far as the Central Assembly elections were concerned, they adopted insidious and sinister methods but were hopelessly defeated. They will now resort to the same insidious and sinister policy and tactics with regard to the Provincial elections which is unworthy of any great organisation that falsely claims to represent the whole of India, which they too know is untrue. They are not going to give us an honest and straight fight on the paramount issue of Pakistan, but their cowardly policy of remaining as the hidden hand behind some nondescript Muslims, pushing them and financing them under the false label of Nationalist Muslim, will be repeated. I can understand a Nationalist or a Muslim, but God alone knows what 'Nationalist Muslims' means except Congressite in the garb of a Muslim.

Mushroom Gangs With False Labels

"The Punjab is awake and has understood the machination and the manoeuvres of the Congress in putting up their stooges, the so-called Nationalist Muslims, their creatures and henchmen. There is no such party or organisation as the Nationalist Muslims. They have no programme, no creed. I warn and caution the Muslim voters not to fall a prey to this trap. Similarly the Ahrars, the Khaksars and other mushroom gangs with false labels are nothing but henchmen of our enemies. I therefore appeal to the Muslims of the Punjab not to be misled and vote solidly for the Muslim League official candidates and thus show to India and the world that the Muslim League alone commands the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India and is their sole authoritative representative organisation and that we unequivocally and determinedly stand for our cherished goal of Pakistan.

The Main Issue

"Next I wish once more to impress upon every Musalman to understand the issue for which we are fighting. It is a matter of life and death of the hundred million of Muslims of India as a nation and particularly for the Punjab, which is the cornerstone of Pakistan. Muslim League official candidates have been selected by our two tribunals—the Provincial and the Central Parliamentary Board—set up by the Muslim League organisation. There may be dissatisfaction, rightly or wrongly, but in all cases there must be a finality. The question now is that Muslims are not called upon to vote and support these individual candidates as such, but, in fact, they have to give their verdict on the issue of Pakistan and prove to the world that it is the grim determination of Muslim India to establish independent Muslim-dominated sovereign States in our homelands in the north-western and eastern zones of India. Every vote that is cast in support of the Muslim League candidates is your contribution towards the building of that glorious edifice of Pakistan, which is the only salvation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for and which is the one and only solution of India's constitutional problem.

Quaid-e-Azam's Confidence

"I am confident that the Punjab will not fail us. Finally I appeal to every Muslim and urge upon him to march forward to our goal of Pakistan with courage confidence and with our motto of unity, faith and discipline."

The Eastern Times, January 19, 1946.

800

Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the adjournment motion regarding Government of India's participation in operations in Indonesia and Indo-China, New Delhi, January 21, 1946.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Guntur *cum* Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Mr. Chairman, I move that the business of the House be adjourned to discuss a specific urgent matter of public importance, namely, the failure of the Government of India to refuse to co-operate with the British Government in their violent operations in Indonesia and Indo-China even after the war with Japan was over.....

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Mr. Chairman, the real issue that appears to be before the House is this: What has the Government of India done with regard to the situation that has developed in Indonesia both from the point of view of military and political objectives. Sir, I expected even from the military department, the War Department, if you like, of the Government of India, which is represented by the Honourable Member who spoke, to give us some intelligent account of what the Government of India has done. I understood that the object and the obligation of the various nations was that they must go—they have won the war, Japan has collapsed—they must go to the rescue of the prisoners of the various countries that were there. That is that. And their next business was to disarm the Japanese and see that they were promptly removed from Indonesia. Now if that was the object, namely, to rescue war prisoners and to see the Japanese off from Indonesia, I should have thought that either the Dutch forces or the Government, whichever was responsible there, would have easily managed that, because even according to the Honourable Member's own statement, the Indonesians were independent. There was a constituted government, there was a Republic, a Ministry. I should have thought that any member of the United Nations, to

start with the Dutch, would have at once said: "We are very glad that you have got your freedom and liberty. We are very glad that the Japanese have given you this freedom and independence. We bless you and we bless your republic and we want now only one thing and that is, secure the war prisoners and see that the Japanese are liquidated as quickly as possible and taken back wherever they should be."

Was that ever suggested by the Dutch authorities? Was that ever suggested by the British when they went there and was it refused? I am really shocked when I hear the Honourable Member saying that India must play a very great part, as she has played in the world war—fought as well and better than anybody else—and, therefore, it is befitting our dignity and our honour that our troops should be sent there to do what? to destroy the independence, the freedom and liberty of the republic that was established there. You justify it with a great amount of falsehood which you have spread. Why not admit it if you can? And if you cannot, why do you not keep quiet? Why do you not keep quiet instead of coming here with a speech of this character, which is full of falsehood, from top to bottom? There is not one word in that statement of facts, which is true—not one word. Why do you not admit that the policy is not yours, because what can you do? You can have no policy. Why do you not keep quiet or frankly admit it? We know and the world knows except the Honourable Members and the criminals who are persecuting and prosecuting this disgraceful policy in Indonesia. The policy is clear. The Dutch want to re-establish the imperialistic Dutch domination, to bleed the Indonesians for another unlimited period, having done so already for 150 to 200 years; and the British policy, which is quite obvious, is to share in partnership to bleed and exploit the Indonesians, by re-establishing the Dutch Imperial domination there. That is the view that I think any intelligent man must take, in spite of the camouflage, in spite of the confusing reports, in spite of the manoeuvres and machinations, in spite of the statement of British statesmen. Even Members of Parliament are rebelling against this

dishonesty and camouflage that is being practised there to hide the real issue. But you go on as usual. If my words can go to the British nation, I say that every Englishman, who has got any shred of honour, ought to shudder at being a party to the operations that are being carried on there brutally. They say: "We have done nothing." I suppose the reports coming from there are censored, but even the reports that are coming are revealing. You say "No reprisals". You keep saying "No reprisals". You made declarations saying "No reprisals" But what are your actions? Your hands are covered with blood and brutality. I do not know whether it is possible for the British nation to put pressure upon Parliament. I do not know whether the collective conscience of Parliament would rebel, as it ought to, in the name of justice, in the name of freedom, in the name of humanity and in the name of the solemn declarations that the nations have made from time to time, that they stand for democracy. But whatever that may be, so far as the Government of India is concerned, I am sorry to say that the representative of the War Department has thrown no light as to what they have done. Honourable Members here sitting, Members of the Executive Council perhaps will enlighten us, apart from the military operations, on the political aspect of the issue. What has this great executive council of the Governor General done? Have they any opinions? Did they collectively put their heads together? Have they expressed their opinion anywhere, to anybody, collectively or individually?

An Honourable Member: They never do.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah:

Has the Viceroy and Governor General discussed this matter with you or not? If so, what was the result of it and what conclusions did you come to and what views have you expressed to His Majesty's Government? I know you have no power. But are we not entitled to know that you, as the Government of India, the Executive Council of the Governor General, owe a duty to this country, and you are under a moral obligation and it is your business to see that the feelings and sentiments and

opinions of the people of this country are at least represented to His Majesty's Government truly and faithfully? What have you done? Sir, I read in the newspaper a few weeks ago that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General has made representations to His Majesty's Government that Indian troops should not be utilised in Indonesia. Is that true? It has not been contradicted yet. Is it true? Why do you not say 'yes'; we have made representations and we shall persist that it is the feeling of the people of India that Indian troops should not be employed there? Unless that is made clear on the floor of this House, that you have made representations, or if not, you will make representations at once unless you give an undertaking on the floor of this House that you will do it—and you know that there is universal feeling throughout India that it is a disgrace and a slur upon the honour of our soldiers who are called upon to fight for what, against those who have been struggling for their freedom and independence—therefore, unless you give me an undertaking that you will make the strongest representations to His Majesty's Government and do your best to see that Indian troops are immediately withdrawn, I shall persist that this motion should be adopted as a censure upon the Government of India.

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall (Leader of the House):

Political tranquillity is necessary if the military objects of apprehending the Japanese, of whom there are still 30,000 in Indonesia, and of rescuing the balance of the prisoners-of-war and internees are to be effected. In order to assist in reaching a political settlement I imagine, the Government has, as you must have noticed in the newspapers, a Special Ambassador, Sir Archibald Clark Karr, who will use his special knowledge and experience to help the parties to arrive at a helpful solution.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Has it ever been made clear....

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall: I am very sorry, but I cannot give way.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: It is a most extraordinary thing....

Mr. Chairman (Sir Cowasji Jehangir): The Honourable Member does not wish to give in.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: It is the most extraordinary thing and I protest against it that the Leader of the House should not allow me to put one single question, during the course of his speech. This is unheard of.

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall: I am perfectly willing to hear the question if I am given extra time.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (Meerut Division : Muhammadan Rural): If he does not do that, we shall not hear him.

Mr. Chairman (Sir Cowasji Jehangir): With the consent of the House, I propose to give the Honourable the Leader of the House five minutes extra, if he will answer one or two questions.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: I only wanted to understand clearly whether it has ever been made clear to Dr. Soekarno or the Prime Minister of the Republic that the Dutch Government and the British Government are willing to negotiate and come to a settlement with them on the basis of their independence and freedom being recognised.

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall: I am not fully informed on that point. I have no more information than the Honourable Members have in the papers.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Then do not use our Indian troops.

Legislative Assembly Debates,

1946, Vol. I, pp. 68, 78-82.

801

Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding Food Famine in the Districts of Southern India, New Delhi, January 23, 1946.

Mr. Chairman: The next motion is in the name of Prof. Ranga. This relates to the "failure of Government to prevent the growing extreme scarcity of foodgrains and the consequent widespread black-marketing and the spread of food famine in the districts of Chittoor, Anatapur, Cuddappah and parts of Kurnool and Nellore of Rayalaseema".

I presume you want to draw the attention of the House to the very serious conditions prevailing in this part of India with regard to food problems.

Prof. N.G. Ranga: Yes, Sir.

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall: I think we should be able to cover this food subject in two full days.

Mr. Chairman: The undertaking is very satisfactory. I take it that Honourable Members having accepted this undertaking will withdraw their adjournment motions with regard to this important subject of food.

Prof. N.G. Ranga: I withdraw.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Sir, can adjournment motions be withdrawn like this without the sanction of the House?

Mr. Chairman: I ruled them out of order but, if it is so desired, I shall ask the House whether the Honourable Members have leave to withdraw them.

The Honourable Dr. Sir M. Azizul Haque: Sir, that will be setting up a new precedent. This motion of adjournment has not been moved and so the House is not in possession of it. An adjournment motion is not in order until you rule it in order and then the Mover moves it; and it is only then that the House

is in possession of it and can give leave for its being withdrawn. I hope my Honourable friend Mr. Mavalankar will support me in this.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Twenty-five persons have to signify their assent first.

Mr. Chairman: I see there is a rule here and I am not prepared to interpret that rule immediately. I will take the advice of Honourable Members here and will leave it as it is until the next occasion arises and the President decides the point.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I think it is rather an important matter and a precedent should not be created which will perhaps recoil on us later on. You trying to ascertain from the Mover and the Leader of the House or Government whether this motion should be admitted by you or not, and you have not yet given your ruling that this motion has been admitted by you and no question of withdrawal therefore arises. If you had given your ruling and the motion then had been moved, this question might have arisen. But you have not yet admitted the motion.

Mr. Chairman: We will come to compromise before admitting the motion. So there it stands. No sanction of the House is required.

The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1946, Vol.I, pp. 128-29.

802

Statement on the question of Indian Muslims' support for Arab cause in Palestine, New Delhi, January 23, 1946.

"The Muslim League would support the Arab cause in the Middle East in any way they can if the British should depart from their White Paper policy on Palestine."

Asked about a report published in a Bombay newspaper, "*Vatan*", that Agra shopkeepers were already boycotting Jewish goods, Mr. Jinnah said that if the report was true, it must be of a "spontaneous" nature.

"There is a very intense feeling in Muslim India. but the Muslim League has not yet officially decided to adopt any measure.

"If there is going to be any departure from the policy declared by Britain in the White Paper on Palestine, Mussalmans in India cannot remain detached observers and will support the Arabs in any way they can."

Mr. Jinnah declined to say what if any measures were under consideration.

The scope of any anti-Jewish measures in India naturally must be of a restricted nature due to the fact that the population of the Jews in India is comparatively small—probably not more than 25,000.

However, boycott measures might be levelled against goods of Jewish origin, as indicated by the Agra report that Muslim shopkeepers are already refusing to sell "Jewish cigarettes." (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, January 24, 1946.

803

Statement to the Press on the Viceroy's address to the Central Assembly, New Delhi, January 28, 1946.

"There are three matters, emerging from the address of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Legislative Assembly, which require our immediate attention. Others will have to be dealt with as and when they arise and come up before us.

Firstly, the Viceroy's intention is to form his Executive Council with the help of and in consultation with the leaders of the principal political parties in the country.

"There is no reason, whatsoever, now to talk of any arrangement to set up an interim government. We were always ready and willing to agree to a fair and reasonable interim arrangement of forming an Executive Council during the war to secure the cent per cent co-operation of India for the persecution of the war successfully. But the Congress adopted an impossible attitude throughout. The war has come to an end and now we must tackle the main issues which will result in a permanent settlement of India's constitutional problem.

"Muslim India has made it clear beyond any doubt that the only solution of India's political problem is the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, and it is our grim resolve and determination to set up a free Muslim state in the Muslim majority zones in the North West and East parts of India.

Sir Stafford Cripps, with his knowledge and experience of India, as a far-seeing statesman, after the breakdown of the Simla Conference, said as follows:

"It would seem that in the present circumstances emphasis had shifted once again from transitional arrangements to a permanent settlement. If this be so, then it is obviously desirable not to waste further time trying to arrive at a

temporary arrangement, which is mixed up inexplicably with the problems of permanent settlement, especially with that of the unity of British India. It is far better to expedite means of arriving at a permanent settlement in which the question of Pakistan must form a major issue."

Secondly, the Muslim League will not agree to any Central Government being set up as even an interim arrangement, as it is obvious, it will constitute the thin edge of the wedge and will relegate the main issue—viz., the demand of Pakistan—to the background. Further, once an interim arrangement is jammed in, we feel, that it will put off the day of India's freedom—not only of the Muslims, but of the other nationalities as well.

"And thirdly, it follows that we can never agree to one constitution-making body being set up for British India. It will be perfectly futile and a waste of time as the preliminary and paramount issue in such an Assembly will be the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan. It is a fore-gone conclusion that on that issue there will be no agreement and no decision can be forced by the Hindu majority upon the Muslims who will be in a hopeless minority.

"His Excellency the Viceroy has talked of bitterness that has been created. It is the Hindu Congress that is solely responsible for it by adopting its policy and programme of action to crush the Muslim League and disrupt the Musalmans as the elections have demonstrated beyond doubt. Their unscrupulous and unwarranted interference with the Muslim electorate with the might behind their organisation, backed up by the false propaganda of the Press, nine-tenths of which is controlled by them, their unlimited financial resources and the exercise of the economic pressure, to say nothing of the threats, intimidations and declarations of civil war.

"The Muslim League has remained unscrupulously aloof from interfering with the Hindu electorates and has, as an

honourable party, decided not to interfere with the non-Muslim electorates anywhere.

"In the light of these facts, which cannot be denied, the Congress alone is responsible for this atmosphere of tense bitterness facing us.

"I would finally urge upon His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy to face realities and facts and proceed to make a clear declaration with regard to the major issue of Pakistan without further delay."

QAP-F-810/p.90 &
The Star of India, January 29, 1946.

804

Interview to daily "Hamdard" regarding the Kashmir Situation, New Delhi, February 3, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah, in an interview with the special correspondent of the daily "*Hamdard*", Srinagar, regarding the Kashmir situation said, "Although I am fully occupied with the British Indian elections just now, yet I have not forgotten the problems of Kashmir, according to an O.P. report.

He said that he was fully conscious of the sufferings of the people there and that though the burden of the struggle against repression and oppression was mainly to be borne by the people of Kashmir he shall always help them in every possible way whenever any opportunity occured" and said confidently "I am sure that the day is not very far off when good results will come out and the Kashmir people will have a sigh of relief.". (O.P.)

The Dawn, February 7, 1946.

805

Address to the students of the Aligarh Muslim University, New Delhi, February 4, 1946.

"Active politics" was defined by Mr. Jinnah as "the one which I am in" replying to a question to that effect, while he was addressing a batch of 80 students of the Aligarh Muslim University on their way to the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. to carry on the League's election campaign. The students had dropped at Delhi to visit Mr. Jinnah to ask for his blessing, continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that he did not approve of the students taking active part in politics, but that, as a glance at history would prove, it had been the students in every country who had formed the back-bone of the electioneering campaigns of their national parties.

He cited his own example that while he was a student in England he had worked for an Indian candidate for the British Parliament who did succeed.

League Parliamentary Board

Replying to a remark from one of the students that they could not bring themselves to agree with some of the selections made by the Muslims League Parliamentary Boards, Mr. Jinnah said that the Boards were fully conscious of the heavy responsibilities that rested upon their shoulders and that nobody, however powerful, could influence their decisions and that their actions were being guided by no other considerations but that of acting in the best interests of the Muslim community.

He urged the students to abide by and fully support each and every candidate adopted by the League's Parliamentary machinery set up for the purpose.(O.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 5, 1946.

806

Statement regarding discrimination shown in commuting the sentence of Captain Abdur Rashid

New Delhi, February 6, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a statement is reported to have said: "There is a great deal of resentment and tremendous stir with regard to the discrimination that has been shown in commuting the sentence of Captain Abdur Rashid of the I. N. A. to seven years whereas Messrs Shah Nawaz Khan, P. K. Sehgal and G. S. Dhilon were let off completely.

I call upon the Commander-in-Chief to explain and give his reasons and grounds for this discrimination observed by him. Musalmans will not rest content if he does not explain his silence and indifference and it will lead to a very serious situation. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 7, 1946.

807

Statement regarding Kashmir situation,

New Delhi, February 7, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah in an interview regarding Kashmir situation said, "Although I am fully occupied with election work just now yet I have not forgotten the problem of Kashmir.

"I am fully conscious of the suffering of the people there and though burden of struggle against the repression is mainly to be borne by the people of Kashmir, I shall always help them in every possible way whenever any opportunity occurs. I am sure, that day is not far off when good results will come out and Kashmir will heave a sigh of relief." (O.P.I.)

The Eastern Times, February 8, 1946.

808

Address to the members of All-India Muslim Railwaymen's Association, Delhi, February 9, 1946.

"If you go on struggling for your rights as a united body, I have no doubt in my mind that you shall win. In fact, there is something in our blood which will never make us take any defeat. We are determined to win and we will win." Thus observed Mr. M. A. Jinnah replying to an address of welcome presented to him at an " at home " given by the All-India Muslim Railwaymen's Association at the residence of Dr. Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmad,President of the Association.

He added "It is all well to talk of justice, fairplay, goodwill and sympathy, but in this world it is str strength only which counts."

Mr. Jinnah said that he had been running his blood into water for the last five years and was pained at heart when he daily received several letters from different parts of India which were full of chronic complaints of the wicked machinations of squeezing out Muslims and of obstructing their progress, which indicated that this unscrupulous practice was going on everywhere.

He said "There is only one road which will put an end to this agony and that is the establishment of Pakistan, and we are determined to fight every inch for it."

The League leader said that the Muslims had neglected all their affairs for the last 200 years, and it was only then that their eyes saw their mistakes and blunders and they began to see things in their true perspective. "Not only the Muslim railwaymen but also the entire Muslim nation in India would have been wiped out, had it not been for the timely hold-up by the All-India Muslim League, of the steam roller which was going to crush them."

Waste No Time

Mr. Jinnah advised Muslim railwaymen to work systematically and not to waste their time and energy in mere talks and speechs.(O.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 10, 1946.

809

Message to "Star" Weekly of Bombay, New Delhi, February 10, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah sent the following message of goodwill to the "*Star Weekly*" the first issue of which came out on Sunday last:

"The inauguration of the '*Star*' at this critical juncture when Muslim India has unequivocally registered its emphatic and unflinching support of the All-India Muslim League, is a welcome step forward, inasmuch as you assure me that the '*Star*' will stand for the organisation and the guidance of the Muslim opinion and will support the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League.

"The appearance of the '*Star*' as a weekly, may constitute a step in the direction of founding a first class English daily from the Province of Bombay in the very near future, and I do hope that the 'Star' will voice the sentiments of Muslim India faithfully, sincerely and fearlessly. I wish your venture every success". (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 13, 1946.

810

Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the Resolution regarding release of Indian National Army men and political prisoners, New Delhi, February 11, 1946.

Pandit Govind Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I beg to move :-

"That in view of the universal expression of public opinion throughout the country in the matter, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to give up the trials of the officers of the Indian National Army and to release immediately all men and officers of the Indian National Army as well as all other political prisoners under detention or imprisonment."

. . . . . .

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: I did not expect you would agree with that. I gave the House figures the other day. My Honourable friend, the mover, so far as I understood him, questioned my figures. He said they were grossly understated and my recollection is that as an illustration of my under- statement, he said that there are 700 detenus in his province alone, the U.P. Well Sir, I do not know the source of his information but I do not accept it and I do not believe it. My information is that on the first of January last, there were 44 persons under detention in the U.P., as against his 700. The total number of persons detained without trial under Ordinance III now in India is about 3,000, rather less than 3,000, and of those about 500 are persons who were actively connected with movements aiming at terrorism and sabotage. The remainder, as I said, or practically all the rest, that is about 2,500, are Hurs. Well, Sir, champions of the Hurs have arisen recently in various places, in this House and elsewhere, but one thing I have observed about them is that they all live at a very safe distance from Sind, e.g., in Bombay, Calcutta, or Allahabad.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban) : or Delhi

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: This problem is peculiarly a Sind problem. I repeat what I said the other day, that I will not be a party to censure of the Sind Government for the treatment they have given to the Hurs nor will I be a party to a resolution demanding the immediate release of the Hurs. The Sind Government recently put out a statement which shows that they have been and are considering the Hurs problem very seriously and I suggest that this House should refrain from passing a Resolution which in this part of it can only embarrass that Government.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Why should it embarrass the Government?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: The second portion of this Resolution refers to persons convicted of political crime. Here, again, I must disclaim responsibility, as I did the other day in respect of detention, for crimes in areas which are outside the direct control of the Government of India, although in regard to those I propose presently to give the House some figures, ... Sir, that is all I have to say on this subject, and the House can now return to the more exhilarating topic of the I.N.A. trials. I must oppose the Resolution of Pandit Govind Malaviya as it stands.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What about all those people?.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Sir, it seems to me that the debate on this Resolution will probably go over today and I may not be present when the debate may be resumed on the next occasion. Therefore, I think, Sir, I should say a few words and put my views before the House.

Sir, the substitute Resolution of Nawab Siddique Ali Khan is this:

"In view of the special circumstances under which most of the personnel of the Indian National Army joined it and in

view of the policy laid down by the Government and the action taken by the Commander-in-Chief in dealing with the sentences passed by the Court Martial, this assembly, recommends to the Governor General in Council to release all officers and men of the I.N.A. whether under detention or under trial."

Now, to that Resolution I understood that Mr. Mason has no objection but he wants his amendment to be incorporated. Have I understood him correctly?

Mr. P. Mason : Yes.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: His amendment is:

"That to the Resolution which the amendment proposed by Nawab Siddique Ali Khan seeks to substitute for the original resolution the words 'except those charged with brutality' be added at the end."

Now, I do not wish to go into the various matters that have been discussed on the floor of the House . Mr. Mason has given us a long lecture as regards the integrity and the reliability of the army and its necessity. On the other hand we have heard as to what is meant by patriotic duty and what a patriot should do. Sir, that is all academic. The reality is this: I think every intelligent man knows what a patriot should do. I think every intelligent man knows that the army of a country must be maintained on the basis of complete integrity, reliability and faithfulness. All this is very elementary. That is not the question now before the House. The question before the House is this: "What is the policy of the Government with regard to this subject of the Indian National Army."? I do not want, Sir, to say anything which will add more to the bitterness. I do not want to say anything which will hurt anybody, at any rate, I do not mean it. I do not want to go into extraneous matters. Let us confine ourselves and concentrate on this issue which is before the House: " What is the policy of the Government with regard to this matter"? You thought it right to hold these trials. Well, in my judgment, it was a blunder, to begin with. After going through the trials, you reduced the judgment and the sentences

passed by the Court to travesty by releasing the men the very next moment. Why did you do it? Sir, it is quite obvious to me, at any rate. You did so, because you felt—and as it was partly given out by Mr. Mason—you felt not that it will help the settlement of the political problem, but you felt that there was such an upsurge of agitation and revolt throughout the country against your policy of having put them on trial, thereafter, because of that agitation—as I think one of the Honourable Members said—you funked it and you were stampeded into taking this action of remitting the entire sentence. Having done that, you find now that the agitation has cooled down. There were, I believe, in England—and I read it in the newspapers—very severe comments upon this farce. I do not say that you were wrong. I say you should never have put them on trial . But, having put them on trial, and having got the judgment after days and days of trial, you funked it. You reduced it to a farce and there was severe criticism and then another blunder. The first blunder was to start with the trials, the second blunder was to make a farce of a judicial judgment and sentences passed the very next moment.

An Honourable Member: Now this is the third.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: Quite, this is the third. Now you find that the agitation has subsided. You find now that you have put yourself in a ridiculous position and under cover of this plea "charged with brutality" as the exception....

Mr.P. Mason: 30th November was the date on which we announced this policy.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: I know you leave a loophole always. I have not known, Sir, for the last thirty years, but have you ever known the British Government making a statement (whose children you are) without leaving a loophole? I have not. You can always find an excuse. How many statement, how many pledges and promises you have broken shamelessly. I know why you are doing it. You are now doing it because you want to find a scapegoat and a victim. Rashid Ali is No. I victim but it is not

going to stop there. You will get a few more victims. You propose perhaps to go through the same farce, going through a trial, then transportation for life or may be sentence of death (I do not know) and then you will come round and say: "Yes, yes. After all waging war against the King was bad". Did not Shah Nawaz commit murder? Was he not held guilty of murder?

Mr. P. Mason: No, Sir. He was not guilty of murder.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: Of course he was. Abetment is the same as murder, Mr. Mason, you do not understand the legal language. I am sorry, your mind is more in the direction of military affairs. Abetment is the same offence. I can understand this legal language. But if you say that it was not his hand that actually killed the man and therefore in his case, he being an abettor, there were extenuating circumstances, in order not to give him as severe a punishment as the man who actually killed the man—I can understand that. But why was he released completely? That is what I want to know.

Mr. P. Mason: I explained it just now.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: I know you explained it. But does not the Honourable Member see how absurd it is to say—I am assuming now that Rashid is guilty of grievous hurt—that a man who commits grievous hurt or some injury—that that is not a lesser offence than abetment of murder? Cannot you see that? Commonsense will show you that if a man is guilty of grievous hurt, that is a lesser offence in every sense of the word than murder or abetment of murder. Shah Nawaz and others were released. Why is poor Rashid made the victim of your change of policy?

Mr. P. Mason: There has been no change.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: You have changed your policy. And not only this, Rashid—I am not talking now of Rashid—I am not concerned whether he is a Muslim or a Hindu or a Parsi—I am now considering your policy. Let me tell you that you are mistaken and let me advise you with all the earnestness I can

command, stick to your first policy and your first thought. Release them all. No question. I am not satisfied—I have gone through the record and I am not satisfied that Rashid is guilty of brutality.

Mr. P. Mason: That is the point.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: Yes, I have spent many years of my life and I assure him that if you go through this carefully, as I have, he is no more guilty of brutality than Shah Nawaz and many others who were there at the time. Therefore please consider it from this point of view. In order to prevent that fear, namely, that it looks farcical, you may victimise a few. Do not do it. Come out boldly and honestly. If you mean to secure goodwill, if you mean to create that feeling amongst every section of the people of this country, close this chapter completely. No more arguments, no more talk. I earnestly advise you in your interests, in our interests; and if you will yield once in your life to this advice of mine, believe me you do not know what you will be able to achieve. If you are really honest, if you are really sincere, if you mean what you say, believe me, do it at once without delay.

Mr. P. Mason: Will the Honourable Member assure me that he will not say next time that we were funking it?

Mr. M.A Jinnah: No, I say that this is my case. You say it is not. I say this is my inference that you funked. Very well. If you will give me this assurance—and you must remember what I have said long long ago—do not forget it please—if you will give me this assurance that you are going to close this chapter, not only I shall not be justified in saying that you have funked but I will say that you have behaved as a civilised Government should behave and as a conquering Government should behave. I have said that long ago. When this question came before the public, I said, if you remember—and if you do not I will send you the press cuttings, but you must have it with you—I said that we have the deepest sympathy for these men, and I hope that the British Government will show the utmost clemency to them, the

utmost clemency becoming a conqueror. You have won the war. I said that not only the men and the officers of the I.N.A. but those who have died on the battlefield, fighting for you heroically—look after their families and their children: those who have returned having won the battles, treat them properly. I do not want to go into this matter whether they fought for you or fought for me—they are human beings. Treat them as human beings; and , Mr. Griffiths, when the time comes, my army in Pakistan shall without doubt maintain all loyalty, whatever be the liability, and if any one did not do so, be he a soldier or be he an officer or a civilian, he will go the same way as William Joyce or John Amery.

The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1946, Vol: I, pp.428, 807- 10

811

Interview to the correspondent of the "New York Times", New Delhi, February 13, 1946.

Under the heading "Jinnah threatens civil war" the New York Times published on its front page on Thursday a column-long cable from its own correspondent in New Delhi about an interview he had obtained from Mr. M.A. Jinnah.

The correspondent said that Mr. Jinnah told him that Muslims are willing to fight if the British fail to provide for Pakistan in the six northern Provinces of India. The cable said, Mr. Jinnah declared that if the British carry out their intention of calling a single constitution-making body, the only result would be a Muslim revolt throughout India.

The story added: "Mr. Jinnah said: "it is up to the British to make the right move; if they do not, God help us."

Mr. Jinnah left no doubt that he is first and last a Muslim to the exclusion of any other consideration. He

denounced the Viceroy's proposal to establish a popular government in the interim period before a constitution-making body could be convened. He also refused to accept a single constitution-making body on the ground that it assured emergence of a unified India.

The Only Course

Mr. Jinnah told me: "Therefore, the only course open is for the British to concede Pakistan and make an unequivocal declaration to that effect. Then we can proceed to the adjustment of boundaries between Pakistan and Hindustan. After that" Mr. Jinnah added "the two Indian nations can make their own treaties."

The correspondent then asked Mr. Jinnah about reports concerning Muslim sympathy with the Arabs and Mr. Jinnah replied, "The Indian Muslim will do everything in his power to help the Arab; he will go to any length, because we do not want Palestine to go out of Muslim hands."

When asked to define "any length" Mr. Jinnah said: "It means whatever we can do—violence if necessary."

The Dawn, February 15, 1946.

812

Speech at the Railway Station, Cawanpore, February 14, 1946.

"Pakistan can come only by discipline and by maintaining order in your organisation," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League addressing a large gathering of Muslims assembled at the Cawnpore railway station to accord him a reception.

Sounding a note of warning to his followers Mr. Jinnah said that if they wanted to consummate their cherished goal of

Pakistan they would have first to learn the healthy lesson of discipline and order.

He severely reproved those who had broken the window panes of some of the compartments in the stampede that ensued on the arrival of the train. (O.P.I.)

The Star of India, February 15, 1946.

813

Speech at the Railway Station, Allahabad, February 14, 1946.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was accorded a right royal reception by Muslims of Allahabad at the Railway station.

Mr. Jinnah, in a brief message said:

"It is high time that you were united. I want you to cultivate unity and discipline. Great struggles lie ahead of us all. You will be called upon to make still greater sacrifices. Discipline is the essence of efficiency and if you are to win, you have to behave as a disciplined army."

Continuing he said: "I want you not to forget the elections. In the coming elections you have to vote for Muslim unity, solidarity and for the demand of Muslim homeland—Pakistan. I want you to forget local feuds and subordinate personal differences for the greater cause. You will not vote for personalities. The League candidate even if he were a lamp post, you have to vote for him because he stands for Pakistan and your nation's freedom. Election results so far hold-out a bright prospect. We have proved beyond all doubt that we are a nation and Pakistan is our united demand".

Concluding he observed: "Time at my disposal is short but let me repeat once again that for the achievement of Pakistan you have to muster strong under the banner of the All-

India Muslim League and *Insha Allah* we shall win". - (O.P.I.) He spoke in Urdu.

The Star of India, February 15, 1946.

814

Statement to the Associated Press of India after his interview with the Governor of Bengal, Calcutta, February 16, 1946.

On his return from Government House to his residence, Mr. Jinnah told the Associated Press of India: "I had a long and interesting conversation with Mr. Casey and I am going to meet him again at 12-30 to-morrow afternoon." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, February 16, 1946.

815

Statement regarding Government of India Policy of Trial and Punishment of the I. N. A. Men, Calcutta, February 17, 1946.

"My attention has been drawn to the communique issued by the Government of India, which appeared in the press yesterday, concerning their policy of trial and punishment of the Indian National Army men. I regret to have to say that it is legally wrong, logically untenable and morally indefensible. The communique only reiterates what has already been stated by the War Secretary, Mr. Mason, in his speech during the recent debate in the Central Assembly.

New Offences Invented

"I am glad, however, to note that it is now admitted that there is no doubt that in the eyes of the law murder or abetment of murder is a more serious offence than grievous hurt, irrespective of the brutality or the uncivilised character of either act. This distinction intended merely to justify the release of Shah Nawaz and to support the untenable policy of the flagrant discrimination adopted in the case of Abdur Rashid on the plea as if there existed any such offence known to law for gross brutality or uncivilised conduct. There is no such offence known to law as gross brutality or uncivilised conduct nor can it be created at the sweet will of any department or its head according to the size of the foot or head of the authority.

"Abdur Rashid has been found guilty, rightly or wrongly and in my opinion wrongly, by a tribunal of causing grievous hurt, which is admittedly a far less serious offence than murder or abetment of murder. Therefore, the reiteration of this policy is not the question. The question now for the public is, whether Abdur Rashid should be released and whether this unfortunate chapter of the policy of the Government concerning trials and punishment of the I.N.A. personnel should be closed.

Calcutta Firing

"I do not wish to add to the enormous bitterness, passion and excitement that prevail throughout the country. In Calcutta alone 44 innocent lives have been lost and about 700 person have been injured, to say nothing of other parts of India, for the simple reason that they wanted to condemn in an unmistakable manner the policy and action of the government, by exercising their rights as citizen to hold meetings, to take out processions and to stage demonstrations.

"One cannot slur over the conduct of the police, which is basically regulated to suppress free expression and liberty of speech of the people. An impartial tribunal must be appointed to hold an enquiry into this whole affair, wherever firing has taken place. Nor can the authorities get away from their responsibility

under cover of 'hooliganism' and 'unruly mobs.' 'I have no desire to add fuel to the fire. But I must express my deep sympathies in their bereavement for the families and relations of those who have lost their lives or have been wounded, in the exercise of their civic rights as champions of liberty of speech and free expression of their feelings by all legitimate methods.

No Prestige Bogey

"I wish to make it clear beyond doubt that I witnessed all along the countryside from Delhi to Calcutta blood in the eyes of the people over the discriminatory treatment of Abdur Rashid. It has stirred every section of the people and has shocked every thinking man. It will be a folly to expect that this action of the Government or their persistence in it will blow over like a passing storm. It has gone deep into the hearts of the people and I am afraid it will nullify our efforts to cooperate with the Government in the handling of the threatened food situation and other matters of importance facing the country.

"Let not the bogey of prestige stand in the way. The prestige and credit of the Government will be enhanced if it does the right thing fearlessly even though mistake may have been made. Submission to the voice of the people is the duty of every civilised government and it is high time that the Government of India, even constituted as it is, did not fail to rise to a higher plane and set right the grievous wrong which cannot be supported morally or logically."

The Dawn, February 18, 1946.

& The Eastern Times, February 19, 1946.

816

Statement on the food situation in India, Calcutta, February 17, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League said that "the food situation in India must not be used as "political football".

Mr. Jinnah commenting on Lord Wavell's broadcast on Saturday* night said what His Excellency described as 'the very serious shortage of food in India", told the A.P.A. "I reiterate the Viceroy's statement at this common crisis that no political bargains must be made out of it by anybody. Food must be a matter above party squabbles.

"I have asked the Viceroy to let me know with some definite details the programme which he and his Government propose following to solve the food crisis. I am expecting to get the line on which the Viceroy and his Government would help him.

"Help we must" Mr. Jinnah declared. "We will do our utmost to co-operate in the face of this very serious situation.'

"I have seen the Viceroy's broadcast and I hope to have a talk with him as soon as I get back to Delhi. I also propose meeting the Food Department officials and do all we can for solving the food problems." Mr. Jinnah added.

Mr. Jinnah said the Muslim League candidates had been successful wherever they stood for election both for the Central and Provincial legislatures and this resounding success must convince anybody that so-called League defeat was to be found nowhere except in the "action of the brains of some."

The apparent unity achieved in the INA demonstrations, Mr. Jinnah said only showed that even the worst foes could

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* February 16, 1946.

unite against a common enemy but such unity however would not make the Muslims of India give up their demand of Pakistan, he added.

Speaking on the question of a single Constituent Assembly for the whole of India Mr. Jinnah declared that if the British carry out their intention of calling a single constitution-making body the only result would be a Muslim revolt throughout India.

"It is upto the British to make the right move. The only course open to them is to concede Pakistan and make an unequivocal declaration to that effect. The adjustment of the boundaries and the drafting of a treaty between the two nations will subsequently follow." (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, February 18,1946.

817

Interview to the Associated Press of India regarding the visit of three British Cabinet Ministers to India, Calcutta, February 20, 1946.

"I have seen the official announcement made in both Houses of Parliament and released to the Press on Tuesday to the effect that three British Cabinet Ministers are to visit India about the end of March.

"I have already made it clear repeatedly that we are definitely opposed to the setting up of a single constitution making body and also to the formation of what is now described as a representative political executive of the Governor-General as an interim arrangement. I have given my reasons more than once for our opposition to both these proposed steps and I need not repeat them again. There is no need for any justification for the contemplated Executive Council. The major issue must be decided first and that is the demand of Muslim India for

Pakistan. After the principle of Pakistan is accepted we can proceed to settle the details. There can be and there is no room for compromise on the Pakistan demand of Muslim India.

Not Acceptable

Any piecemeal proposed advance or patchwork at the Center or any attempt to set up a single constitution-making body must inevitably shelve the Pakistan demand. Therefore, we cannot agree to or accept any such move and it would be, if forced upon us, a breach of faith on the part of the British Government who solemnly by their August 1940 Declaration assured the Musalmans that no interim or permanent constitution will be forced on them, nor any machinery or method of solving the constitutional problem of India.

"We were solemnly assured not only that the constitution but the machinery that may be set up will be only, by agreement between the major elements in the national life of India. Any departure from that position must lead to disaster and we shall be compelled to resist any such move in every way we can.

"However, we shall be glad to have free and frank talk with the Cabinet Ministers who are expected by the end of March and let us hope that we will make them realise the true situation and the realities of the actual conditions in India and satisfy them that the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan is the only just solution of India's constitutional problem which will lead to peace, prosperity and happiness of the two major communities and others inhabiting this vast sub-continent." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 21, 1946.

818

Interview to Earnest Durham of the United Press of America, Calcutta, February 21, 1946.

An exclusive interview of Mr. Jinnah with Earnest Durham, a United Press of America staff correspondent, in which the Muslims of India would 'revolt' if the British called a single consituent assembly, has been well recieved and prominently displayed by the Amercian press, especially the New York papers.

The correspondent asked Mr. Jinnah as to what he meant by 'revolt.'

"By 'revolt' I mean revolt, "he replied.

1940 Declaration

Elaborating his point further Mr. Jinnah said," It will be a revolt because, firstly, it will be the grossest and the most flagrant breach on the part of the British, who have pledged themselves in their August 1940 declaration not to impose upon us, any constitution or any machinery for the purpose of framing a constitution. Secondly, if a single constituent assembly is imposed upon us, it follows that we shall be thrown to the wolves, for we shall be in a hopeless minority in that assembly, and such a step will threaten the very existence of Muslims and will mean a question of life and death for us. We will not agree to a single constituent assembly for the whole of India. We want the British Government to make an unequivocal declaration of policy accepting the Pakistan demand of Muslim India.

Pakistan Provinces

Mr. Jinnah explained that Pakistan would comprise of six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Bengal and Assam—north-western and north-eastern zones—which constitute roughly one-fourth of India. Hindustan would be made up of the remainder. The geographical areas of

Pakistan, the League leader said, would then require its own constituent assembly, just as Hindustan would require its own. These two assemblies, which would be de facto sovereign bodies, would negotiate such treaties as might be necessary with the British and between themselves, as between two contiguous sovereign States.

"Pakistan is the demand of Muslim India and not of a particular Province," Mr. Jinnah said when referred to Provincial elections. "I am confident that out of 560 seats (Muslim) in various provinces we shall certainly capture an overwhelming majority of them", he added.

League Ministries in Muslim Provinces

Asked about the setting up of League Ministries in Muslim dominated provinces. Mr. Jinnah said the question of forming such Ministries stood on a different footing. It was obvious, he said, that the die was loaded against Muslims in this matter of representation which in turn weighed against them in the formation of Ministries. He stressed that the League should not be judged in the matter of its demand of Pakistan solely on the issue of its ability or inability to form Ministries in Provinces.

Asked about the policy of the Muslim League towards the Indian States, Mr. Jinnah said that the League did not wish to interfere with any one of them Hindu or Muslim. The Indian States were sovereign and their relations with the British were governed by treaties and agreements with the King Emperor, whose paramountcy they had accepted under the terms of the treaties. Otherwise they were free and neither the British Parliament nor the Government of India could legislate or interfere in the internal administration of such States.

Pakistan "Already Exist"

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said to the correspondent, "Your people do not seem to know that India is not one, never has been one and never shall be one. There exist already several big

Indian sovereign States, many of them bigger than those sovereign countries in Europe or America."

The Eastern Times, February 23, 1946.

819

Appeal to the Viceroy to remit Rashid's sentence, Calcutta, February 22, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah has wired to His Excellency the Viceroy appealing, for the abandonment of further I.N.A. trials and remission of Captain Abdur Rashid's sentence. The following is the text of the telegram:-

"I fervently appeal to you to intervene and abandon further trials of Indian National Army men and remit Rashid's sentence. The Commander-in-Chief's explanation in his speech in the Council of State is unconvincing and untenable in the eyes of any thinking man. The discrimination plea based on brutality cannot be maintained in law or on facts disclosed in the case before the bar of public opinion." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, February 23, 1946.

820

Appeal to R.I.N Men and Naval Ratings to call off the Strike, Calcutta, February 22, 1946.

"The press reports that R.I.N. strike at Bombay has taken a very serious turn and that the ratings in Calcutta and Karachi have gone on strike, have caused serious apprehensions. Newspaper reports from various parts of India, and particularly from Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, show that the R.I.N, men have some very just grievances, and it has been made clear by them how deeply they are affected by these grievances and how

they genuinely feel hurt about their present position. No civilised government or responsible man in this country can treat the feelings and grievances lightly."

His Services Offered Unreservedly

"I offer my services unreservedly for the cause of the R.I.N. men to see that justice is done to them. If they will adopt constitutional, lawful and peaceful methods and apprise me fully of what will satisfy them, I give them my assurance that I shall do my best to see that their grievances are redressed.

"I appeal to call the R.I.N. men not to play into the hands of those who want to create trouble and exploit those on strike for their own ends. I urge upon them to restore normal conditions and let us handle the situation, which will surely result in their welfare and will be in their best interests. I, therefore, appeal to the men of the R.I.N. and to the ratings to call off the strike and to the public in general not to add to the difficulties of the situation. Particularly, I call upon the Muslims to stop and to create no further trouble until we are in a position to handle this very serious situation. If we fail to make the authorities understand and meet the just demands of the R.I.N. men, then it will be time for us all, with perfect unity amongst ourselves, to force the hands of the Government if they are not responsible.

Direct Negotiations With Viceroy

"I hope my advice and appeal will not fail. On my return to Delhi about the 8th of March I shall take up the question directly with the Viceroy and I shall do all I can in this matter."

The Eastern Times, February 24, 1946.

821

Interview to the Principal, Islamia College, Calcutta, February 23, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah gave an interview to Dr. I. H. Zubari, Principal, Islamia College, Calcutta.

It is learnt that Mr. Zuberi explained the problems of Muslim education in Bengal to Mr. Jinnah and stated that the education of Muslims in all stages required complete overhauling. He also put before Mr. Jinnah the necessity of establishing a full-fledged Muslim University in the Eastern Pakistan region, residential and federal.

Mr. Jinnah, it is understood, agreed that there was an imperative need for such a university. "Education" he said "will be one of the first problems that the Pakistan Government will be called upon to deal with, when it is established to be followed by economic and social reforms." But he made it plain that such schemes of reconstruction shall have to wait till the establishment of Pakistan.(O.P.)

The Dawn, February 25, 1946.

822

Message congratulating the Muslims of the Punjab on the election results, Calcutta, February 23, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, has wired to the Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, congratulating the Muslims of the Punjab on the election results, says A.P.I. form Calcutta.

Mr. Jinnah's telegram reads: "Heartiest congratulations. Punjab Muslims have played magnificent part in conclusively proving that the Punjab is really the cornerstone of Pakistan. Ninety per cent success fighting against all odds is a splendid

achievement on which you, Muslim India and myself should be proud.

"Please convey my heartful thanks to all those who supported and voted for the Muslim League candidates and thus have clearly established their verdict in favour of Pakistan and proved that the Muslim League is the only authoritative representative organisation of Muslim India." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 25, 1946.

823

Speech at a Public Meeting, Calcutta, February 24, 1946.

"We shall achieve Pakistan and live in it. If Muslims maintain complete discipline, there is no power on earth which can deny us our right of Pakistan," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a mammoth meeting of the Muslims of Calcutta and the suburbs.

"The voice of Muslims has been raised. We shall achieve Pakistan and live in it. Without Pakistan there is only death for Muslims," said Mr. Jinnah in the course of his address.

He continued: "Why do we want Pakistan? Why are we prepared to lay down our lives for it? Because if you want to live in freedom and prosperity and save yourselves from British and Hindu tyranny, then there is no other way. If Muslims maintain complete discipline, there is no power on earth which can deny our right of Pakistan. I can give you this assurance.

Hindu Appetite

"What more do the Hindus want? Three-fourth of India will remain in their hands, where they can live in freedom. Only one fourth will remain with us. Let us also live in freedom here. But Hindus want to grab everything.

Not Fighting For Ministries

"The question before you at the moment is the provincial elections. The elections are not being fought for the formation of Ministries or for deciding who will be Ministers. We are not fighting for the installation of Ministries. We want the 1935 constitution to end and to achieve Pakistan. The eyes of the world are now focussed on the Muslims. It knows now that we are fighting for Pakistan and it is waiting to see whether we win or lose."

League Nominations

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah asked them not to fight among themselves on insignificant matters such as who was nominated and who was not as the League candidate for the elections. The Provincial Muslim League Election Boards had given their nominations. The Central Parliamentary Board had given its decision on the appeals and that decision was final. What did it matter who was finally nominated? Was the Assembly the only place where they could serve their nation? There were a thousand ways and means by which the nation could be served. The situation was critical. He who got the Muslim League nomination—whoever it was—it was their duty to support him unreservedly.

He was glad that they had begun to learn. The voice of Muslim India was heard not only in India, but all over the world. The League had become a power in the world.

"In Assam Muslims have given their judgement by returning 92 per cent Muslims to the Assembly and in Sind, by returning 80 per cent League Muslims to the Assembly. In the Punjab we have by the grace of Allah, captured 90 per cent."

"There is an argument put forward that we shall not be able to form Ministries. How can we do so with the constitution as it is ?

"In the Punjab, the Muslim League had to contend against strong forces, firstly, against the Glancy Khizar combination. and secondly against the black marketer's money

on the Congress side. Fighting against these adversaries, the Muslim League has ended imperialism in the Punjab.

Pathan At Heart With League

"There is no hiding the fact that we have not been successful in the Frontier Province. But there is a long story behind it. In the Assembly there are those who have become showboys and agents of the Congress but I can assure you, the Patahan at heart is with the Muslim League.

"I believe the Hindus, who are now gloating over the Frontier, will soon have to rue the day. My information is that this so called success is entirely due to the serious hanky-panky that has taken place, and it may be revealed and the mystery may be shown to the public very soon.

"In the Punjab Muslims have given the verdict by returning 90 per cent League candidates. Now it is for you here in Bengal to win cent per cent of the Muslim seats for the League."

"If everybody here in this vast gathering realises it and works for just a few weeks from now for the victory of the League candidates, no power can defeat the League.

Cabinet Mission

"The Parliamentary Delegation has come and gone. A Cabinet Delegation is coming. We shall try to make them understand, and I believe, we shall be able to make them understand that there is no other way out than the acceptance of Pakistan."

"Some events of deep concern and regret have occurred in recent weeks in Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and many other places in India. There have been burnings and lootings and hartals. It is our undeniable right to hold meetings and processions. We have the right to condemn government where it goes against the interests of the people. But much damage has been caused to properties. This is a matter of deep regret. To

oppress anybody to make anybody suffer is against Islam. It is our duty to protect the weak and particularly those belonging to small minority communities. They must not be made to suffer. There is no glory in making them suffer. If we have to fight against any community, we ought to do it gloriously and manfully and like men, however powerful that adversary may be."

Mr. Jinnah spoke in Urdu. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 25, 1946,
& The Eastern Times, February 26, 1946.

824

Message to the Students of Islamia College (Calcutta), Calcutta, February 25, 1946.

"Carry the message of the Muslim League to every nook and corner of Bengal. You, the Islamia College students will have to take active part," said Mr. M.A. Jinnah in a message to the students of the Islamia College appreciating their programme. (O.P.I.)

The Star of India, February 26, 1946.

825

Speech at a Ladies Meeting, Calcutta, February 25, 1946.

"It was the duty of every Muslim woman to help in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan" said Mr. Jinnah addressing a crowded meeting of Muslim women at the Muslim Institute Hall.

"There was a new life today stirring among Muslim women," added Mr. Jinnah." No nation on earth could make any

progress without the active help of its womenfolk. They might be inside the *Pardah*. But the League's clarion call had penetrated inside it and brought a message of hope and cheer to Muslim women.

"Today in every Muslim home the imagination of women, men and children had been kindled by the League ideal of Pakistan. Every Muslim child knew what Pakistan was. Without it Muslims and Islam in India would be annihilated. It was the solution of the Indian problem and for them it was a question of life and death.

Mr. Jinnah regretted that they could boast of very few women doctors, teachers, professors and nurses. It was a deplorable business, this apathy on the part of Muslims. The task before them was formidable.

"Here in Calcutta the condition of Muslims was pitiable. Most of them led a wretched, miserable life in *Bustees* and labour areas of Calcutta. They would have to revolutionise and change all this. Men and women together could do everything. He asked them to go ahead, and if possible, give a lead to others.

"For this," Mr. Jinnah continued, "they required education. They must educate themselves and educate their children. The hand that rocked the cradle ruled the world. They must bring up their children who were the future leaders of Muslim India as intelligent, educated Muslim boys imbued with love for Islam and service to their fellow-c(ntrymen.

Mr. Jinnah concluded "Double and redouble your efforts. Make up for the time lost. March shoulder to shoulder with men, contributing your share to the task of national reconstruction and no power on earth can prevent us from achieving Pakistan and we shall wrest Pakistan."

Mr. Jinnah spoke in Urdu and, for a few minutes, in English.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 26, 1946.

826

Speech at a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the All-Bengal Muslim Students League, Calcutta, February 26, 1946.

Addressing a mammoth meeting organised by the All-Bengal Muslim Students League in Calcutta, Mr. M. A. Jinnah made a reference to the forthcoming visit to India of the special mission of three British Cabinet Ministers.

"If they come with an open mind and want to seek an honourable solution, I think we shall be able to make them understand the justice of our position," said Mr. Jinnah. "On the other hand, if they have already made up their mind, as the Hindu Press is trying to make out by asserting that a single constituent assembly and a new so-called Provisional Government are to be set up then there will be no room left for us to talk to them or to do any thing with them.

The Hindu Press is carrying on a propaganda that the British Government should go ahead with the plan for a single constitution-making body, whether all parties agree or do not agree. Some of them name us and some do not, in order to appear impartial."

"But I put it bluntly," continued Mr. Jinnah "that these machinations are going to fail miserably. The British Government is not going to ignore the Muslim League. I therefore say to these Hindu leaders, "Come to your senses. These tactics and attempts to please the British will not help you."

Mr. Jinnah said that it were such Hindu leaders who were obstructing the freedom of the country. They would stand condemned before the bar of history and they would have to make amends for it.

No sane man really wanted them to settle down and work the 1935 constitution, continued Mr. Jinnah. They were fighting for Pakistan. Hindus were saying that Assam was gone from the Pakistan plans, Sind was tottering and in the North-West Frontier Province the League had its reverse, therefore, where was Pakistan?

Fighting For Higher Cause

To such persons, he would say that Pakistan had behind it the 100 million Muslims of India, which was the greatest strength of Pakistan.

Under the 1935 Constitution provinces where Muslims are in a majority, they were in a minority in the legislatures. Even if they secured 100 per cent success, they could not form Ministries without entering into a coalition. The rules of the game had been framed by others in the shape of the 1935 Act, in which the dice were heavily loaded against the Musalmans. Their aim therefore was not the formation of Ministries. They were fighting the elections for a higher purpose and that was to do away with the inequitable 1935 Act and to establish Pakistan, where they would be sovereign.

Unity Among Muslims

Mr. Jinnah said that the "V" for victory sign was the emblem of victory used by Mr. Churchill during the war. Raising his own index finger Mr. Jinnah continued: "This is my sign. It means Mussalmans be one and unite. No power on earth will then be able to deprive you of your birthright—Pakistan. The Muslims of India want their national sovereign State, where we can live according to our own ideals and according to what Islam has taught us. There is only one condition necessary to achieve it and that is unity among Muslims."

Support League Nominees

Referring to the forthcoming elections in Bengal, Mr. Jinnah asked those who had not obtained Muslim League tickets not to be disappointed, but to do their work from outside the

Assembly. They should support the candidates set up by the League, even if they were lamp-posts. People came and told him that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause. He told them, he said, that he did not want their lives, but their votes and their work.

Bengal Important Spot

Mr. Jinnah said that Bengal was one of the most important spots of the Pakistan scheme. He deplored the educational and other backwardness of the Muslims and said: "It is not enough that you should be proud of your glorious past, you should surpass that glorious past and then be proud of it. We have to build our nation and make it strong, economically and politically. We have to educate our young and old, so that they may understand everything correctly and take that part in the building of their nation that they are entitled to."

The Dawn, February 27, 1946.

827

Message to the Muslim Students of Assam, Calcutta, February 27, 1946.

Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League has sent the following message to the Muslim students of Assam, writes the Deputy-President, Assam Provincial Muslim Students' Federation.

"I am completely satisfied with the results of the elections in Assam and I thank the Muslims generally and the voters in particular who supported the League candidates.

"We have carried 31 seats out of 34, that is, 92 per cent of the Muslim seats, which is a great victory not only for Assam but for the whole of India.

"In particular I congratulate the members of the Assam Provincial Muslim Students' Federation for the magnificent work they did in fighting the elections in Assam."

Mr. Jinnah in a letter to Mr. Mujeeb Ahmed Mati, Deputy-President, Assam Provincial Muslim Students' Federation said:

"I am very glad to know that your Federation is taking a very keen interest in the matter of organising the Assam Provincial Muslim League."

QAP-F-810/p.58.

828

Talk to Muslim League workers, Calcutta, February 27, 1946.

[An emphatic assertion that the Muslim League stood for the poor and the downtrodden and not for the rich, was made by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, while answering questions put to him by some Leaguers, who had assembled at the residence of Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani.]

Who are the people present here? They are not rich. The League constitution is a democratic constitution and if there are rich and selfish people in the League, it is because of your weakness. You do not test your man before following him. The leaders draw their strength from the masses, the poor people.

Before giving them that power, you should test them and if they do not prove themselves worthy, throw them out.

When asked about the position of the poor in the Pakistan State, Mr. Jinnah said that he had no sympathy with the capitalists. I am an old man. God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age. Why would I turn my blood into water, run about and take so much trouble. Not for the capitalists surely, but for you, the poor people.

In 1936, I have seen the abject poverty of the people. Some of them did not get food, even once a day. I have not seen them recently, but my heart goes out to them. I feel it and, in Pakistan, we will do all in our power to see that everybody can get a decent living.

Replying to the complaint that some leaders did not care to take active interest in the grievances and affairs of the people, Mr. Jinnah emphatically said:

"Throw them out. I have no police. I cannot punish them directly. My power is derived from you—the masses. If you give me enough power, I promise that I will deal with such people ruthlessly. You can do it too. Let them go.

"Leaders are made by you. If they do not act honestly, do not make them the leaders. You can do that to me as well.

Mr. Jinnah gave the example of Mr. Churchill and said that in spite of his being the most successful war leaders, Mr. Churchill had been thrown into the wilderness.

Face Unholy Alliance

While replying to the proposition put forward by some that the Hindus and Muslims should unite to drive out the British first and then settle among themselves, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Suppose you join hands with the Hindus in a mass movement against the British. There will no doubt be negotiations. Who will do the negotiations for you? Mr. Gandhi will evidently do that because your separate organisation will be gone. He will play the old game of the Khilafat days.

"You spill your blood, you make sacrifices and who takes the credit? Mr. Gandhi. He would negotiate to crush you. What will you do then? Think of it. You will have to stand on your own feet. I say to you, get united. We will have to face the unholy alliance of the Hindus and the Britishers. You should not expect any help from any quarter.

"Even the biggest powers have to look to their own interests. Take for instance U.S.A. Thousands of miles of sea separated them from the war, but they saw clearly that if Hitler won, theirs would be a third rate power and that it would be their turn next to be destroyed. They jumped into the war and spent millions of dollars and shed rivers of blood. That was only for self-preservation. You must make sacrifices for achieving a thing and when you have taken the thing you must have more power to keep it.

Rashid's Release

Asked as to what the people should do, in case, Captain Rashid was not released, Mr. Jinnah said: "I have seen the Viceroy, given a statement and have done everything in my power but I am not holding him and so I cannot release him. Go ahead. We have been wronged and we must do everything until that wrong is set right."

In conclusion, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the workers to create no factions among themselves.

For the coming two weeks, there should be only one thing—elections. We may call it a fortnight's truce work wholeheartedly for only one object—Pakistan.

The Dawn, March 1, 1946.

829

Speeches from the Train (Surma Mail) at the various Railway Stations in Bengal, February 28, 1946.

In his speeches Mr. Jinnah urged the people to vote for the League candidates finally selected by the Central Parliamentary Board. He also emphasised that votes cast would not be for particular individuals but for Pakistan. He expressed

the hope that Bengal Muslims would secure cent per cent victory in the coming elections. (O.P.)

The Star of India, March 4, 1946.

830

Speech at Ishurdi, February 28, 1946.

"If you want Pakistan, you should vote for the Muslim League Nominees without any consideration whatsoever"—thus observed Mr. M.A.Jinnah at Ishurdi on February 28, on his way to Assam.

The Star of India, March 4, 1946.

831

Speech from a boat at Ping,
March 1, 1946.

Speaking from a boat at Ping to a huge crowd gathered on the river side Mr. Jinnah said, "Eyes of the world are on Muslim Bengal. Punjab has shown that they want Pakistan. Let Muslims of Bengal show to the world that they are ready to work for Pakistan, to fight for Pakistan and to die for Pakistan. "*Insha Allah*" we shall have it." Mr. Jinnah also emphasised the need for discipline and organisation which was very essential for the attainment of Pakistan. (O.P.)

The Star of India, March 4, 1946.

832

Speech at Shaistaganj (Assam)
March 2, 1946.

Speaking at Shaistaganj in Assam Mr. Jinnah congratulated the people for the magnificent League victory in

the elections and said, "If you go on united like that I assure you we will have Pakistan. You have set a magnificent example." (O.P.)

The Star of India, March 4, 1946.

833

Speech in reply to the Address presented by the members of the Sylhet Municipal Board, Sylhet, March 2, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah said that he was a lover of one freedom, which ensured freedom to both Muslims and Hindus, and that to him there was no way to freedom but through the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan. "Peace and tranquility cannot come unless a permanent partition is effected." As a lawyer he experienced this between two brothers. "The case is not different as between Hindus and Muslims", he said. He thanked them for presenting him an address of welcome.

The Eastern Times, March 5, 1946.

834

Speech at a Public Meeting, Sylhet, March 3, 1946.

Addressing a public meeting at Idgah in Sylhet, Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah exhorted the Muslims to unite and become one and said that if they did so, there was no power which could prevent them from getting Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah thanked the Muslims of Sylhet for the honour shown to him. After all his wish to come to Assam had been fulfilled. He congratulated them on the success of their elections.

Regarding the visit of the India Secretary, he said that Muslims had shown that they will not be satisfied with anything less than Pakistan. He said that the Muslim League will make the Cabinet Mission understand that there was no solution except Pakistan. Muslims will take it by any means at their disposal.

Meaning of Pakistan

"Pakistan meant the freedom of Muslims from domination by the British and Hindus. If Muslims will fall victim to any designs the existence of Indian Muslims shall be no more. None can deceive Muslims now. They have realised everything.

The Parliamentary Delegation came and he tried to make them understand the Muslim point of view and that in a proper manner. The voice of the Muslim League now reached throughout the world. "We are fighting," he said, "a right cause and we shall win".

Speaking about League organisation, he said: "Organise the Muslim League and make it a strong organisation. If we want to win the political fight there must be some organisation with which to fight and win. The first and foremost thing of a nation's foundation is education. The Muslim League must endeavour to educate its people. Serious attention must be engaged in this respect.

Nation's Cream

Replying to the address of the Assam Provincial Muslim Students Federation, Qaid-a-Azam described students as the flower and the cream of the nation. "Today," he said, "we are fighting, we are struggling. Tomorrow you students must undertake responsibility."

"We will make the Cabinet Mission understand what is right and what is the real situation here. The Congress Press

has a stronger voice. But no amount of propaganda, falsehood and malice can ever succeed. He saw greatness and revolutionary changes all over the country.

Correct Your Mistakes

"Correct your mistakes," he said. "We are an infant nation. The Muslim League constitution is based on the most democratic principles that any nation can boast of. All males and females over the age of 18 and paying two annas as fee can become members. This is adult franchise. Work honestly, sincerely and selflessly."

The Dawn, March 4, 1946.

835

Message to the Assam Provincial Muslim League and Muslim Students Federation, Sylhet, March 4, 1946.

"Organise yourself as worthy of our great heritage and history. Prepare yourselves fully for an emergent and great struggle that is in front of us. Our motto is unity, discipline and faith. We shall truimph in our cause which is just, honest and righteous. If we stand united no power on earth can stop us from achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan which we shall establish in India.

"Work selflessly with a spirit of true service to your nation. Be ready to sacrifice all for our nation's cause. Go ahead. Wish you godspeed."

The Eastern Times, March 5, 1946.

836

Speech in reply to the Address presented by the Assam Provincial Muslim Students Federation, Shillong, March 4, 1946.

Replying to an address of welcome presented by the Assam Provincial Muslim Students Federation, Mr. Jinnah said that students were the flower and the cream of the nation. They had done splendid work during the Assam elections and this, with the labours of League workers, had achieved success for the League. It was essential that they should work in a disciplined and organised way.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League would make the cabinet mission understand the real situation in the country. The voice of the League now reached throughout the world. They were fighting for the right cause and by God's grace, would win.

The Eastern Times, March 6, 1946.

837

Speech at a large meeting of ladies, Shillong, March 4, 1946.

"The Musalmans are determined to be free from British domination as well as Hindu Raj and we are not prepared to submit to a transfer of power from the British to Hindu hands, and I am confident that if we stand united and organise ourselves in every department of life—although we have been left behind—it would not be very long when we shall be able to face them successfully", declared Mr. M.A.Jinnah, addressing a large meeting of ladies in the lawn of the Green House, the residence of Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhury, where Mr. Jinnah is staying.

Referring to the tremendous awakening that has taken place among the Indian Muslims, Mr. Jinnah said "I am very glad that the message of the League and Pakistan has even reached the "*zanana*" and touched even our little children".

Explaining the history of the Muslims he said: "We have our own laws, our own culture and language; we have our own calender, names, social life, architecture and music, in short the entire social and economic structure of our society is different from that of the Hindus.

"We find that the Hindus have their own structure of society, which is different from ours. It is not only different, but in some cases it is antagonistic. I do not blame them. It is their philosophy and culture.

Hindus obsessed

The Hindu believes in idolatory; we do not: We believe in equality, liberty and fraternity while they are caste-ridden and caste-bound. How is it possible for us merely to be one in a ballot box? The ballot box will not carry us anywhere.

"The Hindus know very well, they understand very well, but they get affectionate sometimes and call us brothers and all this is to bring the Musalmans to a position of a minority and thus dominate over us through ballot boxes. They are wrong; they are doing harm, both to themselves and to the Muslims, yet they are obsessed with it.

"This has been unfortunately the dream of their boyhood and the ambition of their youth. Every effort is made, fair or foul and more foul than fair in order to crush the Muslim League and to disrupt the Muslims which we are resisting and I am confident, as confident as I am standing here, that they will fail and fail miserably".

Mr. Jinnah appealed to the ladies to read Urdu and teach Urdu to their children and urged them to work with

determination to build up the three pillars on which the mighty edifice of the great Indian Muslim Nation could be raised. He said: "Educate your children, for knowledge is light and without it, there is darkness: re-organize your economic life from top to bottom and work for social uplift among the Muslims. You work in your own sphere and let men work in their own sphere and then both together fight for the emancipation of our nation.

Un-Islamic customs

In the end, Mr. Jinnah referred to the various un-Islamic customs and evils that had come into the Muslim society, either because of contact with the Hindus or through a class of people who had imposed such customs upon the Muslim society for their own selfish ends and said:

"Let us go back to our Holy Book, the Quran. Let us revert to the Hadis and the great traditions of Islam which have everything in them for our guidance, if we correctly interpret them and follow our great Holy Book, the Quran".

An address of welcome was presented by Mrs. Zubeda Ataur Rehman, the Deputy President of the Assam Legislative Council to Mr. Jinnah. Sir Mohammad Saadullah was also present and he addressed the gathering later. A large number of Christian and tribal ladies also attended the meeting (O.P.I.)

QAP-F-801/p.43 &
The Dawn, March 6, 1946.

838

Speech at a Public meeting, Shillong, March 4, 1946.

That the Muslim League demands the inclusion of Assam in the Eastern Zone of Pakistan was reiterated by Mr.

M.A. Jinnah addressing a huge public meeting on the polo ground in Shillong.

A large number of Hindus and tribal people also attended the meeting.

Mr. Jinnah said a new life had come to Assam which was one of the most important province in the Pakistan scheme.

Explaining the reasons why the Muslims wanted their own national territory, Mr. Jinnah said that it would be a disaster if the Muslim were forced into Akhand Hindustan where the Hindus would be in a dominant position.

The Muslims could not agree to any change of slavery. Urging an immediate and peaceful division of India, Mr. Jinnah said: "Let us be two friendly neighbours and make the sub-continent greater though divided.

Referring to the Hindu and other minorities in the Pakistan Zone Mr. Jinnah said that similarly, there would be a Muslim minority in Hindustan and he belived that through mutual trust of the two sovereign states they could, settle matters satisfactorily.

No Fear For Minorities

However, he firmly, sincerely and honestly believed that no civilized Government had any right to exist if it did injustice to a minority and terrorised it. He added that the rights and privileges of the minorities in Pakistan would be adequately protected.

There should be no fear and misapprehension about it, he said. To whatever faith and civilisation they might belong, they would have full liberty and they would enjoy equal rights of citizenship in a free Pakistan state.

Mr. Jinnah continued that Pakistan would benefit Hindus and Muslims equally. If the Hindus put obstruction and

difficulties in the way of achieving Pakistan that would mean continued British domination.

Concluding Mr. Jinnah told the Hindus, "if you do not join us, we shall alone fight. and free the whole of India." - (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 7, 1946.

839

Speech at a Public meeting, Gauhati, March 6, 1946.

"If the Muslims of India unite and stand solidly as one, under one banner and platform of the Muslim League, our goal of Pakistan shall be attained and I assert that no power will be able to resist us in our path, said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a vast gathering of Mussalmans consisting of students, villagers and women at Gauhati in the Jubilee Park.

Explaining Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah observed that it meant the rule of Muslims in six provinces of India, where Mussalmans were in a majority.

Non-Muslims remaining in the Pakistan would not be deprived of their freedom. The League President said that Muslims were not prepared to live under the domination of Hindus after they were freed form British domination. He wanted the gathering to remember that the Mussalmans were a nation of warriors and as such they would not hesitate to make sacrifice. Muslims would not be browbeaten or be fooled.

Earlier in his speech Mr. Jinnah expressed satisfaction at the mass awakening among Muslims in Assam and India. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 9,1946

840

Statement to the press on the situation in Assam. Gauhati, March 6, 1946.

"I have been in Assam for a week and have visited Sylhet, Shillong and Gauhati. I have met various leaders, workers and other Muslims of the Province, and have discussed the day to day problems that Muslims are faced with in Assam.

"First of all I thank the Muslims for hospitality and affectionate reception that they have accorded me throughout my brief tour and I congratulate the Provincial Muslim League and the Muslims in Assam on their magnificient success in the Provincial Assembly elections. To have captured 92 per cent of the total number of Muslim seats is an achievement of which any nation with justification, be proud and I have no doubt that if the Muslims continue to work with the unity they have demonstrated during the elections, Pakistan will soon be an established fact."

Economic Condition of Muslims

"No one realises more than I do the tremendous odds and handicaps which the Muslim in Assam has to contend with. But the spirit of the people, as I have gauged it, does not leave me in doubt that he will emerge victorious and will free himself from bondage.

"Economically and educationally the Muslims of Assam are unfortunately more backward than their brethern in many other parts in India.

"I appeal to every Muslim worker in Assam to gird up his loins and play his part boldly in the economic and educational uplift of his people.

Persecution By Congress

"I cannot end without mentioning a matter which if not handled judiciously, reasonably and equitably, is likely to result as far as I can see, in bitterness. I refer to the reports that are being received of forced mass evictions of Muslim settlers. If the Government does not immediately revise its policy and abandon this persecution, a situation will be created which will not be conducive to the well-being of the peoples of Assam. I have drawn the attention of the Assam Governor to the serious situation that will arise if the present Government pursues, as it seems it is determined to do, its policy to wipe off even those who have actually settled down for more than two or three years without let or hindrance. The Hindu leaders are not only resolved on the continuation of the Line System but are even persecuting Muslims who have already settled down, under various plausible reasons and grounds.

Hindu Fears

"But the truth of the matter is that they are afraid of a large body of Muslims coming to Assam, thereby increasing the number of Muslims which, the Hindus apprehend, will be a further disturbing factor to the Hindu monopoly and hold they have so long enjoyed in the various walks of life. The Line System cannot be defended either legally or morally. We have more than once impressed upon the Assam and the Central Governments, including the Viceroy, to do away with the Line System and to permit people from other parts of the British India to settle in Assam and to grow more food.

Millions Of Acres Lying Fallow

"Millions of acres of land are lying fallow. Had the Government of India taken our advice I venture to say that the famine in Bengal would have been averted and millions of lives saved. Today we are called upon to face a greater tragedy due to lack of food. We are going abroad begging for food in order to

prevent starvation, even though rations have been cut down and various other measures have been adopted to save life. This is due to the dog in the manager policy of the Hindu leaders, who think in terms of the census and the counting of heads. It is deeply to be regretted that the Government of India have so far failed to tackle this problem of problems boldly and once and for all.

Serious Disaster

"The action of the Congress Government in ordering wholesale evictions of settlers is really meant to drive these people out of Assam, which the Government cannot do better by any other method than by depriving the Muslim settlers of their legitimate means of livelihood. I once more publicly draw the attention of the Governor of this Province to the serious situation that has arisen and also of the Viceroy and the Government of India. I am afraid that if this policy is persisted in by the Congress Government it will lead to a serious disaster, the responsibillity for which will rest on the Assam Governor and the Viceroy, if they fail to handle the situation immediately.

"In the end I assure the Muslims that the All-India Muslim League will do all that it can to help them."

The Eastern Times, March 9, 1946.

841

Interview to the Associated Press of India on the formation of the new ministry in Punjab, Calcutta, March 7, 1946.

"I am more than happy that we have already won the battle of Pakistan in the province of the Punjab by carrying away 90 percent of the Muslim seats."

League's Objective

"The formation of a Ministry, as I have repeatedly said, is a secondary and subsidiary question altogether. If the Congress wishes to work the constitutions of 1919 and 1935, they are welcome to do so. We want to put a speedy end to the present constitution and establish Pakistan. In the Punjab, even if the Muslim League had captured 100 per cent of the Muslim seats, we could not have formed a Ministry without some important group joining hands with us, because we are in a minority in the Legislature which consists of 175 members."

"Regarding the news that has reached so far, it is quite obvious that the two quislings—one "*Rashtarapati*" of the Congress and the other of Glancy—have thrown all their principles to the winds in joining hands with each other and proclaiming to the world that they have saved the province from Section 93.

Sikhs Taken In

"I regret that the unsophisticated Sikh leadership has gone astray. It is the common practice of both the Congress leadership and the so-called Unionists, who have neither body nor soul left now, to make all sorts of promises for the moment to serve their immediate purpose, which they never intend to fulfil. It is quite obvious that this coalition is based on pure malice against the Muslim League by the combination of strange bed-fellows."

"I congratulate Sir Bertrand Glancy for his one more decision, which is a flagrant abuse of his power under the constitution to have summoned his protege, Khizar Hayat, to form a Ministry in the Punjab before his departure, for he will be a puppet Prime Minister at the beck and call of the Congress Party."

"So far as the Muslim League is concerned, we have already done the job and freed the Punjab, not only Muslims but

all other communities of the province, from the hold of the bureaucracy and secured to the province freedom of thought, speech and action and now the people of the Punjab are in a position to go forward fearlessly and independently. This is a great achievement and we shall see what next." (A.P.I.)

The Eastern Times, March 9, 1946.

842

Speech in reply to the Address presented by Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bengal, Calcutta, March 7, 1946.

Replying to the address Mr. Jinnah said. "If you put forth your united efforts and work whole-heartedly, systematically and methodically, I assure you, we can revolutionise Muslim society educationally, socially and economically."

Mr. Jinnah added that till only a few years ago Mussalmans lived and thought in an individualistic manner. "Now I find that the spirit of sacrifice has entered into the blood of Muslims, men women and children. You feel you are a nation. You feel it is your duty to sacrifice everything for the nation."

Advice To Muslim Industrialists

Advising Muslim businessmen to organise themselves, he said that Muslims now almost in every province had their Chambers of Commerce and also the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industries at Delhi, yet a great deal remained to be done.

"There is no time to be lost. We must hurry up."

He urged Muslim industrialists to utilise the avenues now open to the full and establish heavy and scientific industries."

Mr. Jinnah then appealing for funds said that they were fighting against heavy odds. In a fortnight's time Bengal would be going through the Provincial elections. Muslims should not fail for want of financial resources, he added.

The Dawn, March 9, 1946 &
The Eastern Times, March 9, 1946.

843

Message to daily "Chandrika"

Calcutta, March 7, 1946

Mr. M.A. Jinnah has sent the following message to the "Chandrika", a Malayalum Muslim League daily, on the occasion of its conversion from a weekly into a daily.

"I have learnt with pleasure that "*Chandrika*" is again coming out as a Daily. In the past it has rendered appreciable services to the Musalmans of Malabar and created unity among them under the banner of the Muslim League, the proof of which is the cent per cent success of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly elections.

"I wish the "*Chandrika*" success and prosperity and hope that it will always support the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. I have for some time past been desirous of paying a visit to Malabar and meet the Musalmans of this part of this great sub-continent and I do hope that I shall be able to realise this hope of mine in the near future." (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 12, 1946.

844

Statement regarding false election Propaganda of Nawab of Dacca, Calcutta, March 8, 1946.

I am informed that propaganda is being carried on by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca to the effect that he has been especially nominated by me and he has been proclaiming that he is a supporter of Pakistan. This is utterly false. These tactics are adopted in order to mislead our people. He was expelled from the League Organisation for his betrayal and, I, therefore, caution every Muslim not to believe this false propaganda of the Nawab Bahadur. It is the League alone which is fighting the elections to get an absolutely clear verdict of the Muslims in favour of Pakistan. That can only come through the League capturing every single Muslim seat. It does not matter who is finally given a League ticket. I am asking the Muslims now to realize that they are not voting for the League nominee as such, but every vote cast in his favour is for Pakistan and for the prestige and honour of the League organization. I therefore appeal to Muslims to vote solidly for the League candidates."

The Star of India, March 12, 1946.

845

Speech in reply to the Address presented by the Calcutta Muslim Club, March 8, 1946.

"There is no power on earth that can prevent us from establishing Pakistan," declared Mr. Jinnah in the course of his reply to an address of welcome presented to him by the Calcutta Muslim Club. The one thing that was required for achieving Pakistan added Mr. Jinnah, was complete unity among the Muslims.

There had been a concentration of energies and machinations to disrupt the Mussalmans. This was in the form of the Muslim contact movement started by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru many years ago. The Congress had tried every method, and he was glad that it had now come out in the open. The policy of the Congress now is to have nothing to do with the League.

Speaking of the meetings he had with the Congress leaders, headed by Mahatma Gandhi in 1938, 1939 and last year, Mr. Jinnah said, "Every time they came to cheat me and every Mussalman and every time I refused to be cheated and much more so the Mussalmans."

The Congress wanted to crush the League and stated that if anybody should support Pakistan there would be Civil War. They were also using their press and the black marketeers to crush the Mussalmans and the Muslim League. All these efforts, however, had failed miserably.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that so far as the British Government was concerned, a new technique was being used by the Congress. The inducement was being held forth that if the British wanted to carry on trade, they should settle with the Congress and that the British and the Congress thus joining hands, there would be a new chapter in the commercial history of India and Britain. They forgot, however, that there were a hundred million Mussalmans who had a say in these things.

Mussalmans were ready to face both factors, namely, the challenge of bloodshed and the challenge of bribing the British Government with facilities for trade and commerce. They should remember that the largest number of consumers of British goods were the Mussalmans and not the Hindus. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 10, 1946.

846

Statement issued prior to his departure, Calcutta, March 9, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, left Calcutta by air for Delhi at the end of a three-week tour of Bengal and Assam.

In a statement issued prior to his departure Mr. Jinnah said: "During my visit and stay in Bengal, I have witnessed unprecedented enthusiasm among the Muslims not only in Calcutta, but all over the countryside in favour of the Muslim League and the Pakistan demand, which has now become a household word.

"I feel confident that if we stand solid and united and not be misled by false and mischievous propaganda, untruths and vilification or be intimidated by threats of our opponents, Pakistan is assured.

"On the eve of my departure from Bengal, I appeal fervently to all classes of Muslims and urge strongly upon them that "If you want Pakistan, our clearest duty is to vote for the candidates nominated finally by the Central Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League. Their decision is final. It does not matter who the League candidate happens to be. You are not voting for him personally. Every vote cast in favour of the Muslim League candidate is a vote for Pakistan and conversely every vote in favour of their opponents will be construed as a vote against Pakistan.

Do Not Be Misled

"In these elections which are being fought on the issue of Pakistan, Muslims of all classes must give a clear verdict. Do not be misled, as some instances have been brought to my notice when persons opposing the League nominee are claiming the votes of the constituency and the support of the Muslims in the

name of Pakistan declaring that they will join the League Party in the Legislature, should they be elected. This is a mere snare and trap and these people are deceiving the Musalmans.

Sacred Duty of Voters

"I further wish to impress upon you that your vote is not for the formation of the League Party in the Legislature or formation of Ministry but it is for a clear verdict for Pakistan pure and simple.

"It is therefore the sacred duty of the Muslim voters and workers to go to the polling booths in their number and win the battle of Pakistan by voting for it, for the League candidate even if he be a lamp-post and through their determination to achieve Pakistan by capturing every seat in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Discipline demands of you to act according to my appeal and enhance the prestige and honour of the All-India Muslim League.

Finally for the sake of our cause and Pakistan I hope the Musalmans will rise to the occasion and sweep the polls and prove to the world that Bengal is absolutely and determinedly behind the Pakistan demand.

In the end I most sincerely thank the Muslims of Bengal for the kindness, hospitality and affection shown to me wherever I went.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 10, 1946.

847

Statement on "Demonstrations in Lahore," New Delhi, March 11, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has instructed the Punjab League leaders to convey to the Hindu and Sikh public in the Province that the League demonstrations are not directed against them," it is learnt here.

The demonstrations, according to League President, "are against traitors in our own camp."

Mr. Jinnah, it is however learnt, has regretted Saturday's deplorable happenings in Lahore. — (A.P.A.)

The Star of India, March 11, 1946.

848

Message to the Sind Muslim College Magazine, New Delhi, March 13, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah has sent the following message to the *Sind Muslim College, Magazine* on its inception: "I am very glad to know that the *Sind Muslim College Magazine* is making its first appearance shortly. In a national institution, like the Sind Muslim College, which aims chiefly at moulding the younger Muslim generation, according to the traditions of Islam and at giving them a training conforming to the heritage that we Muslims are proud of, the Magazine has no doubt, to play an important role. It has undertaken to shoulder a responsibility, which is both immense and delicate. It has to wend its way through difficult channels and hostile surroundings but I have no doubt that this task, the college will carry to a successful finish and look upon itself proudly for doing its bit in the re-shaping of the Sind Muslim Youth, who are destined to play an important part in the Muslim National renaissance in India. I

wish the venture of the Sind Muslim College in bringing out the Magazine, all success."(O.P.I.)

QAP-F-995/p.13 & The Dawn, March 14, 1946.

849

Statement regarding grievances of the Federation of Indian Posts and Telergraphs Unions, New Delhi, March 13, 1946.

"I met Mr. George Naronha, Secretary, Federation of Indian Posts and Telegraphs Unions, this morning and after my discussion with him I am issuing the following statement:

"Although I am informed that the posts and telegraphs staff are not fully satisfied with the award announced by the Government of India in reply to their strike notice, I am glad that the Government have given the lower paid staff some immediate financial relief. Further I am glad as I have been informed that the Government have appointed an adjudicator to see whether any further immediate relief is necessary for the men on the new scales of pay. Pending the report of the adjudicator I would ask the staff to exercise restraint. Other major grievances are to form the subject-matter of an inquiry by a predominantly non official commission.

I shall do my best to see that all interests are represented in the composition of the proposed commission and hope that it will perform its work expeditiously." (O.P.)

The Dawn, March 14, 1946.

850

Statement on the speech made by the Prime Minister Attlee in Parliament, New Delhi, March 16, 1946.

"I regret that Mr. Attlee, though in a guarded and qualified manner, has done the rope-walking when he says "On the other hand we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of a majority" and yet he has fallen into the trap of the false propaganda that has been carried on for some time. There is no question of veto or holding up the progress or advance of the majority.

The issue is, to give it a simile, says the spider to the fly: "walk into my parlour" and if the fly refuses, it is said that the veto is being exercised and the fly is intransigent.

However, I note that the Prime Minister in the same breath says: 'We are mindful of the rights of the minorities and the minorities should be able to live free from fear. I want to reiterate that the Muslims of India are not a minority but a nation and self-determination is their birthright. If the Cabinet Mission comes with an open mind, there is hope of their realising the true situation. If the expression that the Cabinet Mission is going in a positive mood means "we are resolved that a machinery shall be set up" by way of single constitution-making body or a Constitution Assembly, then it is futile for him to say in the next breath "we seek utmost co-operation of all India leaders to do so."

Contradictory Expressions

"Having said that 'the House realises the difficulty of the task which members of the Mission have undertaken in conjunction with the Viceroy and that no one will desire to say anything that will make their task difficult,' he himself has

indulged in various expressions which are contradictory and are calculated to creat misunderstanding.

"In one place, he again says: 'But in our fluid position at the present time, when we desire to get utmost co-operation and goodwill between all leaders of Indian opinion, it would be unwise to try and tie down those who are going out too rigidly.' And I am glad he has realised ...when he says 'You cannot make Indians responsible for governing themselves at the same time retaining over here (in England) the responsibility for treatment of minorities and powers of intervention on their behalf.'

Future Constitution

"It seems that he was speaking to a larger audience with many voices but so far as we are concerned our position remains definite that we stand for a division of India and the establishment of Pakistan and that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem. It will lead to happiness, prosperity and security to the two sovereign states and all the inhabitants of this sub-continent."

QAP-F-1022/p.83 &

The Star of India, March 18, 1946.

851

Interview to the Press regarding Congress Attitude, New Delhi, March 17, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah accused Mr. Gandhi and the Congress of spoiling the atmosphere for negotiation with the Cabinet Mission.

In an interview Mr. Jinnah asked the question: "What is it that we are facing at present? and said: "The Congress Party's attempt to disrupt the Muslims and to crush the Muslim

League, and in pursuing that policy their action in putting forward nondescript candidates directly or indirectly under the guise of 'Nationalist Muslims' to fight the League, have failed miserably, although in these elections they had behind them nine-tenths of the Press in the country, money, workers, and other resources in abundance.

After the elections they have done their worst so far to put dificulties in the way of the formation of League Ministries in the Muslim majority provinces, where, owing to the communal award of the British Government and under the present constitution, Muslims are in a minority or in a number which does not give them, in the Assemblies a workable majority.

"In fact in the two Muslim Majority Provinces, Bengal and the Punjab, they are in a minority in the Legislature. The Congress is threatening us in the Muslim majority provinces that they will prevent the Muslim League Party, from forming Ministeries by every means, regardless of principles, by joining hands and compromising with other groups and stooping to the lowest depth to keep the Muslim League out.

In the Hindu Provinces, where Hindus are at least 70 per cent in the Legislatures, and where by virtue of their number they can form Ministeries without difficulty by ignoring the Muslim League, they are threatening to play the devil with Muslims and the Muslim League.

They are also threatening the British that they will not work the constitution or use it for what it is worth for the good of the Provinces but use it for their purpose or preparing the people at large for a final struggle which the 1942 struggle will pale into insignificance, if the British Government did not surrender to the Congress demand, which in reality is for an immediate declaration on the basis of an All-India Federal Constitution to be framed by a constituent Assembly with an

overwhelming Congress majority, and the formation of an immediate interim National Government at the centre.

Preparations are going on to subordinate all services, not excluding the Police and—military. The British are threatened that if they want trade facilities, they must surrender to the Congress and make terms with their patrons, the capitalists. If they do not surrender the consequence will be bloodshed and the ruination of British trade. If the Pakistan demand is favoured all the weapons they are keeping in their armoury will be let loose.

Non-Violence

This is the position taken up by leading Congressmen in their speeches and the Hindu press day in and day out, including Mr. Gandhi, who only puts the gloss of non-violence knowing fully well that nobody believes in it, nor for the matter of that does he himself mean non-violence. It is only a shelter for him and pose that, as an apostle of peace and peaceful methods, he may be able to continue to practise hypocrisy, fraud and bamboozle the world, especially foreign countries, and every time the Congress Working Committee meets it repeats the affirmation of non-violence.

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech at Jhansi on March 1, said: 'If the British Cabinet Mission fails to solve the enormous problems which are clamouring for solution, a political earthquake of devastating intensity will wreck the country.' Congress alone represents the whole of India for he says at the end of the speech: 'The Muslim League, the Akali Sikh Party, Punjab Unionists and others are allies of the British Government.' Therefore the only course left for the British is to hand over this sub-continent to the Congress Raj."

"And further to prevent bloodshed the bribe is offered to the British of a flourishing trade in India in common with the Indian capitalists if they make peace with the Congress. This is a

dream, for they fail to take into account that there are one hundred million Muslims and the powerful mass organisation, the All-India Muslim League, and they cannot remain detached or as spectators. If the negotiations are to commence on the basis of who can shed more blood and who can bribe the British more Muslims and the Muslim League can and will play a part if driven to desperation which will bring about a real civil war with which Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel has been threating us.

"And if the British Government is going to put Muslim India to the test of bloodshed and going to repeat their history they have learnt no lessons and if that is the only argument which will convince them they will force the Muslims to resort to the last course, and so far as trade is concerned, it is not realised that the largest consumer of British goods are the Muslims.

They can also play a big part in paralysing British trade if they were to resolve to do so. The question is: Are we going to meet in that atmosphere? Mr. Gandhi says if the British Cabinet Mission fails, 'I will advise you what to do next'. Thereby, I suppose, he means that he will let loose his weapon of non-violence in full play if the Britian do not surrender to Congress demand.

No Hope For India

"Is this the atmosphere or situation which one can consider as being conducive to the opening of negotiations between two major parties in this country which will give fruitful results?

"Unless the Congress drops this policy and meets on equal terms with the Muslim League sincerely with the honest desire for a peaceful settlement by means of negotiation, there is no hope for India.

"I find that Hindu opinion is being reconcilled more and more to the idea of Pakistan. But the Congress means a dead Pakistan making it a lifeless skelton. And this is the second line

adopted by them by outwardly professing like Pandit Jawaharlal when he says 'We have conceded 95 per cent Pakistan."

"This is only a pose to hoodwink the growing opinion in favour of Pakistan amongst Hindus and in England and America as well. But it is futile to resort to such manoeuvres. It will only delay the day of India's deliverance.

"We stand for a live Pakistan and live Hindustan and for the freedom both of Muslims and Hindus and the rest of the inhabitants of this sub-continent."

The Star of India, March 18, 1946.

852

Rejoinder to the statement of Congress President regarding the formation of Punjab Ministry, New Delhi, March 19, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, in a rejoinder to the Congress Rashtrapati throwing light on his efforts and the part he played in the formation of the Punjab Ministry said, "The version given by him is a half-truth and I have no doubt that those, who were present in Lahore will deal with the real fact as to what took place and his disingenuous explanation. But when he says that I rejected the inclusion of a Muslim to be nominated in the quota of the Congress Party and that the League was keen to accept it, it is entirely untrue.

"The Muslim League has adopted the only course open to it and refused to have a Congressite Muslim nominee, because firstly, he would have played the role of a Quisling and we want to do away with Quislings.

"The Congress is a Hindu organisation and the leader of the Muslim League was willing to give the Hindu quota to the

Congress Party, which is entirely Hindu but not to any Muslim quisling in the Congress.

"This proposal to have a Congress Quisling nominated in the Ministry was insidious and made with a sinister motive. Further if we were to agree to that course it will encourage non-descript Muslims, careerists and selfseekers for the sake of the prospects of office and jobs and they will go into the Congress camp.

"This is what exactly the Congress is doing to lure individual Muslims and disrupt Muslims solidarity. Next the so-called Muslim would be a creature and a puppet and would have acted in the cabinet according to the orders of his master.

Rashtrapati's Role

"He would have ruthlessly supported the Congress and thereby enabled the Hindus to say: 'There is difference of opinion between the three Muslims members of the cabinet' and ignore whatever the other two might say. This is the role the Congress Rashtrapati has been playing.

"He has been loyal to his salt but had he served God with half the zeal with which he served the Congress, he would have occupied at least an honourable position in society. The trick that a Muslim Divine is the President of the Indian National Congress now stands thoroughly exposed even abroad. A few years of life that are now left for him he may enjoy in peace instead of being hackneyed by the Hindu Congress any more. The only course now left to him is to be pensioned off." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 20, 1946.

853

Press Statement regarding Food Situation in India, New Delhi, March 19, 1946.

"In considering the food situation party politics should not be raised." Referring to his recent interviews with the Viceroy Mr. Jinnah said: "The result of my discussion with the Viceroy about food situation is that a committee of 12 or 14 which was suggested by him to secure the cooperation of the two major organisations, the Congress and League, was turned down by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. The second proposal which emerged from my discussion with the Viceroy, was that the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi and myself should work from day to day at Delhi in collaboration with the food department and if possible a representative of the Indian States be included in it. The name of the Nawab of Bhopal was suggested by the Viceroy. I welcomed it. But even this proposal has been turned down by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress on political grounds. This is to be regretted. So far as the food situation is concerned political issues should not be raised nor should party politics play any part. The only issue which is before us is how best in the name of suffering humanity, the grave danger of starvation and death from want of food which is staring us in the face can be avoided."

"I have from the beginning approached this situation solely from that point of view, I have offered my whole-hearted cooperation to the Viceroy and the Government of India. We will do our best in whatever we can to help in saving the lives of our people."

"The Viceroy has not given me any definite reply in what practical way, he would utilise our whole hearted co-operation in this matter. But the Government have already indicated various methods to meet the situation and we shall help them in every way we can.

Grow More Food

"I would like to emphasise that hoarding and black-marketing should be dealt with severely and the "Grow More Food" drive should be vigorous. We must bear the cut in the ration and every man, individualy and collectively must make it his business in every way possible to save life and help those who need food and with determination to organise apart from Government machinery and its efforts, so that not a single life is lost.

"In every village and in every district small committees should be appointed of volunteers who should look after those who are in need of food.

"Complete co-operation should be given to every officer in every village, district and town. I appeal to everyone in the name of humanity to come forward with selfless service at the call of humanity."

The Dawn, March 20, 1946.

854

Address to the League Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly at the Assembly Chamber, Lahore, March 20, 1946.

Addressing the League Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly at Lahore, Mr. Jinnah congratulated the Mussalmans of the Punjab on their glorious achievements at the recent elections. The meeting was not open to the Press, late at night the A.P.I. was given an authoritative version of Mr. Jinnah's address to the Legislators.

Mr. Jinnah said: "Your triumph in the Punjab, is all the greater as you had to face most unscrupulous methods that were

resorted to by your opponents. The power and authority of the Government was abused flagrantly, officers were let loose openly to hinder, coerce and threaten the Muslim League candidates and those who were supporting them. It was almost; a criminal conspiracy which you had to face.

Wonderful Victory

You have toiled and sweated and after fighting against all odds, you have secured a wonderful victory, thereby you have rendered a service not only to the Punjab but to hundred million Muslims of India and posterity. Punjab is the cornerstone of Pakistan and such a clear thumping majority for Pakistan has given me one of the most pleasant shocks that I ever received into my life and it has stunned our enemies—if you, continue this remarkable unity—this discipline by the Muslim of the Punjab of all classes, and maintain your discipline and organise our people for all future contigencies, Pakistan is in the hollow of your hands."

Referring to the political situation in the Punjab Mr. Jinnah said: "You should not be desirous of forming Ministry. After all Ministry forming is only a secondary affair, our main goal is Pakistan."

"We are not thinking in terms of 'settling down' to work the 1935 Constitution or 1919 Constitution in the Central Government. We are determined and are prepared to make any and every sacrifice to put a speedy end to this and establish Pakistan.

"I recognise that the formation of Ministries to secure a stable Provincial Government under the present constitution with a practical working majority may, as I have said, be attempted for what it is worth.

Bargaining

"But we do not want to form the Ministries by bargaining our fundamentals and principles. If you go on as you have shown with solidarity and discipline, you will come into your own even for the transitional period which will command the confidence and respect of our people. Therefore, I must urge upon you all not to think in terms of forming Ministries but concentrate all your might and main upon the speedy abolition of the present constitution and establish Pakistan. For that purpose be organised and be prepared for all the eventualities that we may have to face, whatever sacrifice it may involve."

War of Nerves

"Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said: "War of nerves has already started. We are threatened that the Muslim League will be ignored, bypassed unless, we listen to the dictation of the British Government. We are prepared for that if the British Government dare impose it upon us or any other measure in that direction.

"We are told, and Mr. Attle's speech has created a grave alarm among the Muslims, that the British Government have already been shaken and would be stampeded by the Congress Press propaganda and threatening speeches of the Congress leaders and their policy is now based upon a new technique that the Congress is in a position to create bloodshed if Pakistan is favoured and they are in a position to riot and paralyse the British trade in this country.

Prepared For Worst

"We are prepared for the very worst and no amount of manoeuvring, no amount of threatening, coercion or bullying is going to make us swerve by a hair-breadth from our resolve and demand of Pakistan, come what may. If the British Government fail to assess and appraise the situation properly and it plays into

the hands of the Congress, it will be a tragedy of which there has been no precedent in the history of India.

"British Government," Mr. Jinnah continued, "have by their solemn declaration made by His Majesty's Government in August, 1940 pledged their honour and promised the Muslims that not only the future solution of the problem of permanent constitution will be determined by the Indians but a machinery to be set up must be by agreement between the major elements in the national life of the country and that they will not coerce the minorities nor would they impose upon them any constitution of their own making.

Amery cited

"Is Britain going to break this plighted word and pledge, and promise given to the Muslims by His Majesty's Government with the approval of the Parliament?" asked Mr. Jinnah. "It is absurd", he said "to say that a minority cannot veto the advance of a majority. Mr. Amery ridiculed this insidious propaganda of veto.

"The question here is whether the constitution can be framed, which is acceptable to the major elements and which they are willing to work of their free will and accord and for that purpose those who will be willing consenting parties can alone run the Government which will require stability and security of the Government and command the sanction and the will of the people behind it in order that its writ can be obeyed, respected and honoured.

"No Government can be run merely by the ballot-box of any imposed constitution unless its execution has a sanction behind it. However, these are matters which we shall face when the Cabinet Mission arrives here. In the meantime let me say one more thing. You have not only secured a clear verdict for Pakistan by the Muslim League and Mussalmans of the Punjab

have freed not only the Musalmans but the people of the Punjab from the clutches and the stronghold of bureacracy.

Message To Muslims

"You have acquired freedom of thought and speech and you have shown it in your action in the election campaign and by the results. March on. History will record what you have achieved so far."

Mr. Jinnah then referred to the misleading propaganda going on that "the Congress leaders and even the Mahatma came to me on bended knees on several occasions and every approach that he made was frustrated by me.' "But they don't tell you" said Mr. Jinnah, "what are the proposals that were brought."

"They merely want to mislead the Muslims and wish to make out that I have been an impossible man and have thrown away each time their proposals which were genuinely for the lasting benefits of the Muslims of India and thereby I have done the greatest harm to the Muslims in their vital interest and future, whom Mr. Gandhi and the Congress look upon as their brothers and are dying for their unity.

"It is true" Mr. Jinnah went on, "that Mr. Gandhi came to me in 1936. He waited at my doorstep and what did he propose? That like many organisations the Muslim League is one within the ken of the Congress and there are other Muslims organisations and they are willing to listen to our grievances as one of the several Muslim organisations and so what they can do by way of safeguard as an All-India minority of Muslims, as they say, you are only one of the Muslim organisations.

"He came again to me in 1939 when Lord Linlithgow had sent invitation to me and him to meet him jointly. He suddenly thought of Muslim interests which were so dear to him and rang me up on his arrival in Delhi and wanted to see me and welcome me. What was his proposal?

"Very Humiliating"

"He said it was very humiliating that you should go from your house and I from mine and meet there under a foreign roof and therefore, let us go together. I endorsed every word of this sentiment and when we came to brass tacks as to what we were going to present to the Viceroy we discussed for two hours but he did not budge an inch and wanted my support to the Congress demand for declaration of immediate independence of India and a Constituent Assembly on the basis of Federal Central Government and then we would settle the communal question.

"In other words he meant acquisition first and distribution afterwards. That was putting the cart before the horse and I could not agree.

Last Attempt

"Last time he came to me in September, 1944 and spent three weeks with me. Examine his proposals which he offered. What were they? He wanted to maim and mutilate the present boundaries of the Muslim majority provinces. After that he wanted that even where there was a majority of Muslims there should be a mixed plebiscite and then if the majority decided in favour of separation the Congress would not compel them to do so.

"And having mutilated these territories there would be matters which would rest in the Central Federal Government that is Defence, Foreign Policy, Currency, Exchange, Commerce and Transport etc. The very life-blood of the Muslim majority parts will be under the yoke of the Hindu majority Raj at the Centre and naturally it was impossible for me to accept such a ridiculous proposal which is obvious to any intelligent man.

Tried To Cheat Muslims

I have said so and I repeat it deliberately again that every time they made the approach they came to cheat the Musalmans and me and I refused to fall into the trap and I am glad that I frustrated these insidious attempts they made.

"In conclusion, I want to make it clear that unless there is an honest and sincere desire for a just and fair and honourable settlement it is difficult to negotiate much less to come to terms, I say to you. Punjab has taken pride as the swordarm of India and you played your part heroically on different battlefields which is recognised by the world.

"Let now your swordarm play a more magnificent part in the achievement of Pakistan. You can do it. We shall do it if Muslim will stand united. My prescription is unity, faith and discipline and we shall win."

The Dawn, March 22, 1946.

855

Statement after an Interview with Leaders of the All-India Sikh Students Federation, Lahore, March 21, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League granted interviews to Messrs. Surup Singh and Amar Singh, President and Secretary of the All-India Sikh Students Federation respectively this morning. The interview lasted an hour and a half.

Immediately after the interview was over Mr. Jinnah issued the following statement to the Orient Press:

"I met the President and the Secretary of the All-India Sikh Students Federation this morning and had a discussion with them. I made it clear to them that the Sikhs as a nation are

entitled to a State of their own and I am not opposed to it as such provided they show me where it can be created. I assure the Sikhs that I am ready and willing to do everything I can to bring about a settlement between the Sikhs and the Muslims." (O.P.)

QAP-F-810/p.33 & The Eastern Times, March 22, 1946.

856

Message to the Muslims of India on the Pakistan Day, Lahore, March 22, 1946.

"Mussalmans all over India know that today is the Pakistan Day and preparations are going on throughout the country to observe it and on this day once more we affirm our solemn and firm determination in the most unmistakeable terms and show once more by universal demonstration that the Muslims of India are prepared, come what may, to achieve it."

"We have secured" says Mr. Jinnah, "a thumping verdict throughout India by and through the recent elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, showing clear results of not less than 90 per cent Muslim votes cast in favour of Pakistan. This is a crystal clear verdict of our people. Let me state in the unequivocal terms that we are determined to establish Pakistan by negotiation, peacefully if possible, but if necessary, we are prepared to shed our blood, if that is going to be the test, and go through the fire through which we are required to go.

What Pakistan Means To Muslims

"I therefore urge upon you to organise yourselves and be prepared for every eventuality undauntedly and fearlessly and let there be no faltering. The achievement of Pakistan to us means our very existence, failure means our extinction and all that Islam stands for in this sub-continent. This position was realized by the British Government as far back as 1940, His

Majesty's Government reassured the Muslims. Let me reproduce the relevant portion of that declaration:-

'It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their responsibilities, for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life.'

'Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such Government.'

Mr. Amery's Statement

"Mr. Amery, the then Secretary of State for India, on the floor of the British Parliament stated immediately after the declaration was made on 16th August, 1940, as follows:-

"The foremost among these elements stands the great Muslim community of 90 Million strong and constituting a majority both in the North-Western and North-Eastern India, but scattered as a minority over the whole sub-continent. In religious and social outlook, in historic tradition and culture, the difference between them and their Hindu fellow-countrymen goes as deep, if no deeper, than similar differences in Europe."

"He then proceeded to deal with the propaganda that had been going on at that time being based upon the vicious formula of a minority being allowed to exercise a veto against the majority. It is important for me to quote, not because it comes from Mr. Amery, but as it is a true constitutional exposition and a correct paractical approach and a complete answer to the abuse of the word 'Veto' in the context of the solution of the Indian constitutional problem which engages the attention of every thinking man.

Agreed Consent Essential

"Mr. Amery said His majesty's Government have made it clear that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any

system of Government whose authority is direclty denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. In this matter, too, there is no departure from the principles which have governed the coming into existence of every dominion constitution. In every case in the Dominions, there has been antecedent agreement, not only between the geographical units, but also between the main racial elements—English and French in Canada, British and Boer in South Africa—both as to the method of framing the constitution and as to the constitution itself.

"Agreed consent is indeed the foundation of all government of all true democracy. Decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience, which presupposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto, by any elements but compromise, and willingness to compromise in India as elsewhere is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which free government must be based."

Greatest Blunders

"I regret that on the eve of the departure of the British Cabinet Mission the Prime Minister should have allowed himself to utter this vicious formula that a minority cannot place a veto on the advance of a majority thereby creating the impression that His Majesty's Government will decide and impose upon us an interim or permanent constitution of their choice and making, if the Hindu majority approves of it, and bypass the Muslim League. This will be a deliberate and flagrant breach of the August 1940 declaration and of the plighted word of the British nation if such a course is adopted, and further it will be the greatest blunder in the British rule in India.

Clarification Demanded

"We are determined, come what may, to resist any such attempt by each and every means and we are prepared to make any sacrifice to prevent any such dictation or imposition by the British Government and if necessary by the sacrifice of our blood. This dictum, falling from the lips of the Prime Minister at this moment is most unfortunate and I do hope that the position will be immediately clarified so that we may approach the complex constitutional problem of India in an atmosphere which will enable us with honesty, sincerity and justice and fairplay to find an honourable way whereby the two major nations of India, the Hindus and the Muslims, can live freely and independently."

"To the Mussalmans I appeal at this most critical juncture in the history of Muslim India to remain calm, firm, determined and united. Organise yourselves and I am confident that we shall win with our cardinal motto, "Unity, Faith and Discipline."

QAP-F-810/p.31 &

The Eastern Times, March 23, 1946.

857

Address to the Punjab League Councillers and Workers, Lahore, March 22, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah assured some 600 Muslim League Leaders and workers of the Punjab that "there is no power on earth which can prevent us from reaching our cherished goal of Pakistan."

The League President, addressing the gathering assembled from all over the Province to hear him, said: "Pakistan is an article of creed with us. In it lies our salvation

and everything we hold dear. Pakistan alone will save from extinction the Musalmans of India and all that Islam stands for."

Mr. Jinnah congratulated his audience for "achieving a magnificent victory against all odds in the elections" and declared. "This victory has stunned and terrorised our enemies and those whose estimate of our power was so poor are completely disappointed."

Amidst deafening cheering from the audience Mr. Jinnah asked: "What next" and gave the following counsel to the Leaguers of the Province: "I urge upon you to be calm, determined and firm. There should be no faltering in our ranks. Go on organising our people."

"The victory that you have achieved you should look upon as a great reward. Greater determination and still more vigorous organisation will result in greater rewards than we have got.

Mr. Jinnah went on "If you go on this way, I have no doubt in my mind — no doubt — that we shall win hands down, provided you are united and disciplined and maintain your faith in the struggle unflinchingly, fearlessly and undaunted.

Freedom For All

"Our enemies know that we are determined to achieve Pakistan. That is why this opposition against us. Ours is the right cause. Our demand means that the Hindus will get three-fourths of this sub-continent. We stand for the freedom of all.

"But our Congress leaders go on repeating every day that the Congress is fighting for independence. They falsely suggest that we are fighting for slavery. They know it that the Muslims are yearning for independence more than any other community living in India and when they say they are fighting for the freedom of India, they mean—but they don't say—they are fighting for the freedom of Hindus and for our slavery.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslim League workers to be solidly united, and dramatically raised his forefinger and declared "In the midst of the great struggle, Mr. Churchill greeted his people with the 'V' sign with his fingers.

"I give you this 'sign' (and raised his finger). Believe in Pakistan and adopt this sign.

"I wish you godspeed and victories in the hollow of your hands." (A.P.A.)

QAP-F-810/p.32 & The Dawn, March 23, 1946.

858

Speech in reply to the Address presented by the Executive Committee of the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, March 22, 1946.

"Merge your individuality in the League for the welfare of your nation and in the interests of your community. If you are determined, if you work unitedly and if you organise yourselves I can assure you no power can stop you from developing yourselves and attaining what you are entitled to "thus observed Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League while replying to an address presented by the Executive Committee of the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, which presented a purse of Rs.16,500 to him this morning headed by their president Sir Syed Maratib Ali.

He said that if Muslim businessmen of the Punjab work in co-operation with the rest of Muslim India, take off their coats and work hard, they would achieve result which would surprise their own people. "You will revolutionize the Muslim economic world thus" he said.

Mr. Jinnah further said that he attached much importance to the spirit behind their support and added that every Muslim was proud and happy over the verdict given by the Punjab Muslims which had stunned and paralysed their opponents. (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 23, 1946.

859

Interview to the Associated Press of India denouncing British Policy in Iran, Lahore, March 23, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, referring to the question put by Mr. M. R. Masani in the Central Assembly about Iran and reply given by Mr. Weightman, Secretary for Department of External Affairs on behalf of the Government of India, in an interview with the Associated Press of India said; "Naturally we have fullest sympathy with the people of Iran but we no longer can allow ourselves to be made a pawn when it suits the British to use when they please, for their purposes.

"Muslim India," said Mr. Jinnah "wants Great Britian and America to make their position clear vis-a-vis the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. Mr. Attlee's recent pronouncement in the Parliament," he said, "is most deplorable unless Britian and U.S.A. make their position clear in regard to the Muslim countries in the Middle East and Muslim India". Mr. Jinnah declared "they refuse to play in their hands as it suits them. In India our sentiments and deep feelings for the people of Iran cannot be allowed to be exploited. I feel very strongly now, and I call upon His Majesty's Government and President Truman to let us know what is their real and honest attitude towards national aspirations of the Arabs, the Egyptians and the

Indonesians and other Muslim countries and towards Muslim India and their demands which they have repeatedly made clear and which means nothing but barest justice to them."(A.P.I.)

QAP-F-810/pp.34-35 &

The Eastern Times, March 24, 1946.

860

Address at the Annual Convocation of the Islamia College, Lahore, March 24, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, addressing the annual Convocation of the Islamia College, Lahore, called for a revolution in the mentality and outlook of the Muslim youth "whereby alone the Mussalmans of India can find an honourable place in the comity of the nations of the world."

"I want you, my young friends, to think in terms of revolution, to revolutionise your mentality and outlook towards life. Thousands and thousands of young men are returned from colleges and universities who count for a profession on nothing but Government service, clerkship and other routine jobs. I ask you to seek fresh avenues, to find out new channels, where you will not only make a magnificent career for you but can also serve your nation.

Suggestions To Students

"Commerce and industry" said Mr. Jinnah, "are the very foundations of a nation. In that department, I regret to say, we are left far behind. Besides, scientific and technical knowledge are very essential in this age. Things are moving and we cannot afford to lose time. You should now train yourselves in this direction. If there are difficulties in your way, I assure you that

you will overcome all difficulties and you will build your nation economically, as we have very largely built it politically."

Stressing the need for a high national character to achieve the desired goal, Mr. Jinnah said: "The test of a man depends upon his standard of morality in every walk of life, his elements, his principles, and very often it is named character. Character means a bundle of virtues, the highest sense of honour and integrity and that you will not sell your principle for anything in the world, however tempting it may be. These are the characteristics which go to make a nation. When a test comes, a crisis comes, if you live up to these virtues, no one on the surface of the earth can defeat you."

Sacrifices Essential

Assuring the Mussalmans of final victory in their national struggle Mr. Jinnah said: "Believe me, these obstacles, sufferings and difficulties are in a way a blessing in disguise. These difficulties will purify us to go through the fire, and we shall be able to conduct our struggle for liberation heroically and successfully. No nation has ever achieved a high place without sacrifices, and do not make a mistake that we can be an exception to it."

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said: "Unfortunately, we have lived a life of individualism which is responsible for our demoralisation. Individualism must be merged in the community and for the interest of the country. Each individual must sacrifice for the interests of his nation. Today we stand as one of the most orgainsed bodies in the world and if you are earnest, you can do great things."

The Eastern Times, March 25, 1946.

861

Statement before leaving Lahore for Delhi, Lahore, March 25, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah before leaving Lahore said: "I am carrying with me from the Punjab a message of hope and courage for Muslim India to continue our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

"I have spent nearly a week in Lahore, and I was pleased to meet all classes of people, particularly among the Muslims of the Punjab, and I noticed everywhere a note of hope, courage and determination throughout that they stand solid for Pakistan.

"This is the first time during my numerous visits to the Punjab since 1936 that I find a new surge of life among the Muslims and that they stand solid and erect, speaking with one voice and acting and planning with complete unity of purpose.

"During the last two years, the Muslim Leaguers and the Punjab Muslim League leaders have worked ceaselessly, and the students, who have suffered great hardships and made sacrifices, have particularly played a magnificent part in their national cause.

"I return from the Punjab with a message of hope and courage for Muslim India," concluded Mr. Jinnah.(A.P.I.)

QAP-F-810/p.30 & The Dawn, March 26, 1946.

862

Message on Iqbal Day, New Delhi, March 30, 1946.

"Iqbal voiced the ideals and aspirations of Muslim India. He made great contribution by his poems and prose to the

political awakening and stirring up of the soul of Muslims of India. I wish the Iqbal Day every success."

The Dawn March 31, 1946.

863

Interview to Fraser Wighton, Reuter's Special Correspondent, New Delhi, March 30, 1946.

The burning conviction that "Muslims will never submit to be treated as an All-India minority under a Hindu imperialistic raj" was expressed to *Reuter's* Special correspondent in an exclusive interview on the eve of the historic Cabinet Mission talks with Indian leaders by Mr. M.A. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah declared, "One thing is certain—there will be no compromise on the subject of Pakistan because that means our very existence is at stake."

On being told of the intense world interest in the part he will shortly play in the constitutional drama, and of the need for a brief and clear exposition for overseas of the League's case of Pakistan, which will be a crucial issue of the negotiations. Mr. Jinnah reminded that he did not know what the Mission was going to do, what their ideas were and what decisions they intended to take.

"We shall be very glad to meet them and certainly hope that they will realise the actual conditions and situation prevailing in this country, " he said. "We are quite willing to settle details," he declared, "but on the question of Pakistan there is no room for compromise."

As to an up-to-date exposition of Pakistan, observed Mr. Jinnah, the scheme which the League had placed before the country since 1940, was that the North-West and that the

North-East zones of India—"which are our homelands and where no less than 70 per cent of the population is Muslim"—should be separated and constituted into independent sovereign States.

"We are opposed to a united India constitution with Central Government, Federal or otherwise," declared Mr. Jinnah. "We are opposed to this because it will mean our transfer from tthe British raj to the Hindu raj. A united India means a Hindu racial and cultural majority dominating over Muslims whose civilisation, culture and social structure of life is totally different."

"Under the Muslim League scheme of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah stated, "Hindu India secured three-quarters of the sub-continent with a population of 250,000,000 whereas we are ready to rest content with a quarter of that total population—100,000,000 in the proposed Pakistan."

"We want to live and let live according to our own ideals, aspirations and mode of life," said Mr. Jinnah adding, "that is our Pakistan."

Future Relations With Britain

Asked how he envisaged the relationship of the future Pakistan to Britain and to the United Nations Organisation, Mr. Jinnah said: "So far as our position in relation to Britain is concerned, Britain has made it clear that she is not opposed to Pakistan. As a matter of fact in the Cripps offer, it was definitely made clear—'Indian dominion or dominions.' Mr. Amery said: There is room in India's house of freedom for more than one mansion."

"The British Government," Mr. Jinnah affirmed, "had also made it clear that Pakistan, if established, would be free to remain within the Commonwealth or go out as Pakistan chooses."

Mutual Interests

He added that Prime Minister Attlee had made it clear again in his recent speech in the debate on March 15. "And, therefore," he affirmed, "that will be a matter for Pakistan and Britain to arrange and it will depend entirely upon where our mutual interests lie."

Turning to the relationship of Pakistan to the World Security Organisation, Mr. Jinnah declared: "I am sure Pakistan will play its full part along with other nations for the peace and prosperity of the world and we shall not lag behind any other nation in that fervent desire of ours to secure peace — a peace, which is always essential but at this moment is particularly so."

QAP-F-810/p.29 & The Dawn, March 31, 1946.

864

Message to the Muslims of Bengal, New Delhi, March 31, 1946.

"Congratulations for the phenomenal success of the League in the elections. Bengal's victory, capturing more than 95 per cent of Muslim seats on Pakistan issue is the clearest verdict that Bengal has given, "says Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a message sent to Maulana Muhammad Akram Khan, President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Secretary, Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Board, on the League's victory in the Provincial elections.

Mr. Jinnah adds: "Please convey my thanks to the voters and all Muslims who helped the League and to the leaders who organised the election campaign with such brilliant success."

The Star of India, April 1, 1946.

865

Statement regarding burning of some shops in Aligarh, New Delhi, April 1, 1946.

"I have read the account in the press that some shops were burnt in Aligarh causing also loss of life and injury to a few people. I condemn such incidents of lawlessness and my sympathies are with those who have suffered. I am not in a position to say that what the cause of the trouble was exactly or who was the person or persons responsible for this, but I appeal to the authorities of the Aligarh University and the students to maintain law and order and not be a party to this incident being turned into communal clash. Pending the inquiry into this unfortunate incident I trust that Aligarh University will maintain its high prestige and reputation to see that law and order is not defied and help the authorities in every possible way in the impartial investigation of this incident."

QAP-F-810/p.28

866

Message to the Secretary, Islamia College Muslim Students Federation (Lahore), New Delhi, April 1, 1946.

"I wish all success to your venture in bringing out an illustrated account of the general elections in Punjab with special reference to the contribution of the Muslim students in a book form."

Shamsul Hassan Collection, Students II (Punjab), p.91

867

Message to the Muslims of Bombay, New Delhi, April 1, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has sent the following telegram to the President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League on their cent per cent victory in the Provincial elections:—

"My heartiest congratulations to Bombay on cent per cent victory. I am glad that Bombay stood first when it so handsomely responded to my appeal for funds and gave me the largest support and now it has vindicated by its magnificent victory, the support to Pakistan demand. Please convey my most grateful thanks to all voters and the Muslims in general who supported League candidates and also to leaders and workers who worked ceaselessly for the achievement of this fullest success."(A.P.I.)

The Star of India, April 2, 1946.

868

Message to Muslims of Madras, New Delhi, April 2, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has telegraphed to Mr. Muhammad Ismail Sahib, President of the Madras Provincial Muslim League congratulating Madras for the "cent per cent victory" in the recent general elections.

The telegraph reads: "My heartiest congratulations to Madras for the cent per cent victory. By this magnificent victory Madras has vindicated its support to Pakistan. Please convey my most grateful thanks to all the voters and Muslims in general who supported League candidates and also to leaders and

workers who worked unceasingly for the achievement of this brilliant success." (A.P.I.) & (O.P.)

The Star of India, April 4, 1946.

869

Interview to Donald Edwards of the B.B.C., New Delhi, April 2, 1946.

"Pakistan must be a fully sovereign state, with complete control of defence and foreign policy. In a Federation, member states are compelled to grant more and more power to the Central authority. Little by little, they lose their independence. That may have been all right in such Federation as the United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa, but in an Indian Federation, the Central authority would inevitably be Hindu," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, in an interview with Mr. Donald Edwards of the B.B.C., at New Delhi.

The Muslim League leader further made a strong appeal to the Hindus for an amicable settlement. He said: "We must try to come to a friendly agreement. If it is a question of force, well then, whoever wins, dictates. But we want to negotiate peace.

"God forbid that there should be insuperable difficulties. Let us work in the spirit that we have come to make a settlement as honourable men and work together for the welfare of the Hindu nation and the Muslim nation."

Mr. Jinnah made this appeal during a talk in his library. Asked about the difficulty of forming a Pakistan state out of two areas, one in the north-east of India, one in the north-west, nearly thousand miles apart, with a Hindu corridor dividing them. Mr. Jinnah replied: "When you travel from Britain to other parts of the British Commonwealth you pass through foreign territory—the Suez Canal for instance. It is all done by amicable arrangement. We travel from the Muslim areas of the

north-east to the Muslim areas of the north-west across this so-called 'Hindu corridor' without any difficulty today.

"Why should that arrangement not continue? The Hindus must not be allowed to put difficulties in the way of a state that wants to be their neighbour in a friendly way. They must not be allowed to close the doors of communication between the Muslims of the north-west India and the Muslims of the north-east.

"This must be one of the terms of the treaty. Are the Hindus going to come to an amicable settlement? — that is the point. If we are going to negotiate in a friendly way there is no difficulty."

Hindus' Attitude

Mr. Jinnah said that in the past he had worked hard to bring the Hindus and the Muslims together. He took a leading part in the Lucknow Pact between the Hindus and the Muslims in 1916. But the Congress Party became more and more a Hindu movement.

That is why the Muslim League broke away. And that is why, he said, "the Muslim Provinces will not join an Indian Federation no matter how much independence they are offered, because an Indian Federation would be dominated, as the Congress is dominated, by Hindus.

On being asked what he proposed for those areas where the Muslims are in a minority, Mr. Jinnah replied: "These areas, like Madras for instance, will have a Hindu Government and the Muslim minorities there will have three courses open to them: "They may accept citizenship in the state in which they are. They can remain there as foreigners; or they can come to Pakistan. I will welcome them. There is plenty of room. But it is for them to decide."

Assam's Position

Questioned as to why Assam, with its huge Hindu population, should be part of Pakistan, he replied: "There is no other way of fitting Assam in anywhere except in Pakistan. Any scheme that you will frame for any country in the world where you have these different nationalities, can never be a perfect scheme."

Asked how Pakistan would be defended against foreign attack, Mr. Jinnah said: "Like any other sovereign State does. If a state of a hundred million people cannot defend itself, then no body can defend it. Naturally no nation stands by itself. There will be alliance with other nations whose interests are common." On being asked "What nations?" Jinnah smiled as he replied: "I will tell you when I get the Government in my charge."

Economic Strength

When he was told that there were doubts whether Pakistan would have the economic strength to be an independent nation, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Economically Pakistan would be a powerful state. Even Congress Party experts had a shock when they investigated the matter.

"The theory that Pakistan would not be economically sound is now exploded. Pakistan has wonderful economic opportunities. There would be trade with the world and Britain would benefit more than anyone else."

Regarding Pakistan's relations with the British Commonwealth, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Pakistan would be free to remain within the Commonwealth or to go outside it. What the Pakistan Government will decide to do, I do not know. Canada, Australia and South Africa are free to leave the Commonwealth tomorrow, but they do not, and it is not for purely sentimental reasons.

"Real vital interests compel those Dominions to continue in the British Commonwealth. The same sort of interest might compel Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth, but we have not made up our minds."

Replying to the question, why the North-West Frontier Province, which is predominantly Muslim, had voted for the Congress Party, Mr. Jinnah said:

"The elections were not free. The Caretaker Government in power in the North-West Frontier Province abused its powers, and was helped by the fact that so many of the voters are illiterate.

"There have been some discreditable incidents which I am investigating. Election contest in the N.W.F.P. was purely between the Muslims who proved by their slogans, flags, and buntings that they had nothing to do with the Congress, but were fighting for the freedom of the Frontier Pathans."

The Dawn, April 3, 1946.

870

Statement on the death of Malik Barkat Ali, New Delhi, April 5, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has issued the following statement on the death of Malik Barkat Ali:

"I am deeply grieved to hear the very depressing and sad news of the sudden death of Malik Barkat Ali. He was from the very beginning a true and loyal member of the League and on all occasions he rendered the greatest services to Muslim India. His advice and his staunch support on all critical occasions were of the greatest value to the League and myself.

"Muslim India has lost in him a great man and I have lost in him not only a colleague and a collaborator but also a friend.

"My deepest sympathies go out to his family in their bereavement for this irreparable loss." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 7, 1946.

871

Speech at the Convention of Muslim League Members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, Delhi, April 7, 1946.

"Members of the Central Legislature and of the various Provincial Legislatures who have gathered together in this Convention, I offer you my cordial thanks and welcome you in this Convention."

"You know that in the battle of elections that was raging for months all over India, by the grace of God and with your sweating labour we have won a victory for which there is no parallel in this world. Ladies and Gentlemen, we had to fight against heavy odds, powerful organizations and all the manoeuvres and machinations of our enemies. But I am glad to say that we have routed our opponents in every battlefield. To-day this historic record stands, that we have captured something like 90 per cent of the Muslim seats, and you have gathered here to-day as the chosen legislative representatives of various constituencies all over India. This Convention is one the like of which has never taken place in the history of India.

It is a heavy and sacred responsibility that we bear as elected and chosen representatives of our people. This Convention is going to lay down once for all, in unequivocal

terms as to what we stand for, and I have no doubt that we are of one opinion only, and that we stand for Pakistan, and we shall not falter or hesitate to fight for it, to die for it if necessary—and achieve it we must, or else we perish.

Procedure Explained

Now you will have the opportunity of exchanging your view among yourselves. We have tried to lay down a practical programme; and the programme is that after my address to you, you form yourselves into a Subjects Committee — and each province will select a limited number because we cannot have a large body. After this Subjects Committee is formulated, any resolution or resolutions will be placed before the full House. You cannot discuss a resolution when there is a large body, and the practical way of dealing with it is that each province should elect its quota of 10 per cent; to that will be added the members of the Central Legislature, and that will be a very small number. That will form your Subjects Committee. There we shall have to carefully examine and review the entire situation that is facing us especially with reference to the solution of the constitutional problem of Pakistan, and in view of the fact that the Cabinet Mission is now here and they have come to discuss matters with us.

"Now, I think you have been reading various statements and speeches that are made every day especially in the course of the last three weeks, I have tried to understand what the Congress position is, and I put it before you as I see it.

Congress Position

"The Congress position, according to the latest pronouncements of the leading spokesmen of the Congress during the course of this week, is this: In answer to the Muslim demand of Pakistan, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel says: 'The Congress can accommodate the Muslim League to the extent of reorganizing the provinces and giving the fullest autonomy

possible to those areas in which the Muslims are predominantly in the majority.' He goes on to say: 'This would be subject to there being a strong Centre, which would be necessary for the defence of India as a whole.' 'The Congress', he adds, 'would never agree to the idea of there being two nations, nor will it recognize nationality based upon religion.'

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said on April 4, that the way to deal with the present situation was to see Indian independence clearly recognized and leave Indians to compose their differences and find a way out without interference. 'It is always difficult to consider these differences in relation to the presence of a third party which controls the situation. When once it is clearly and definitely realised that India is going to function as an independent entity and that the people of India of various groups and commmunities must come to terms or unfortunately fight before they come to terms, then reality comes into the picture.' He further goes on to say that he envisages, as the first stage after the recognition of independence, the creation of a constitution-making body with sovereign authority. In another recent speech, he was good enough to offer a 'diluted Pakistan' under the suzerainty of a strong Central Congress Government.

"If you reduce this Congress formula, it comes to this: that the British Government must first grant independence and hand over the machinery of the Government—both civil and military—to the Congress by way of setting up a national Government of their conception and stand aside. When they are fully saddled in that power and authority, they will proceed to form a constitution-making body with sovereign authority, which will finally dedcide the fate of 400 million people inhabiting this vast subcontinent. Then, according, to Pandit Nehru, the various communities and groups must submit to the decision or fight, and then reality comes into picture.

Fascist Grand Council

But we have already got the reality in front of us, and it is foolish to shut our eyes and imagine that the Congress Interim Government or a decree, the writ and the fiat of the so-called constitution-making body of his conception, will command allegiance, respect and obedience. If such a proposal be given effect to and a Government of his dream is set up, it will not hold for 48 hours. It is inconceivable that this Fascist Grand Council should be vested with full powers immediately to decree the fate and destiny of 100 million people—the existing machinery in their hands to be used against 100 millions Musalmans and other minorities of millions and other interests involved. It seems that Congress does not realize how fantastic this proposal and scheme is, whatever you may call it.

On the other hand, the Muslim League proceeds on the basis of reality. I have explained in great detail the fundamental and vital differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. There never has been, for all these centuries, either social or political unity between these two major nations. The Indian unity that we talk of up to to-day is held by the British Government, and they have—by their ultimate sanction of the police and army—maintained peace and law and order in this country.

The Congress claim is founded on a nationality which does not exist, except in the eyes of those who merely dream. Our formula is based on the territory of this Subcontinent being carved into two sovereign states of Hindustan and Pakistan.

Principle Of Pakistan

"Next, the acceptance of the fundamental principle of Pakistan is a *sine qua non* of the consideration of the question of Muslim League co-operation in an Interim Central Government—and further a clear and unequivocal undertaking

must be given to implement it without delay. Then alone we can get to the next step.

"It follows that the idea of a single constitution-making body has then no place, and we shall not accept it, for it means our consent to proceed on the basis of a united India, which is impossible, and we cannot give our consent to such a course. Apart from many other objections, one is quite clear: that a single constitution-making body will only register the decree of the Congress, and it is a foregone conclusion that Muslims will be in a hopeless minority there.

"On the other hand, according to our formula, there would be two sovereign constitution-making bodies, one for Hindustan and the other for Pakistan, and it is the Pakistan constitution-making body which will be in a position to deal with defence or such other matters as may require adjustment, by virtue of contiguity, which will naturally arise. But all this can only be done by means of treaties and agreements between Pakistan and Hindustan.

"We cannot accept any proposal which would be, in any way, derogatory to the full sovereignty of Pakistan.

"Our formula gives the Hindus three-fourths of this Subcontinent, with a population of nearly 250 millions. Hindustan will be a State bigger than any other State in the world, both in area and population, except China, and we shall have only one-fourth, and in this way we can both live according to our ideals, culture and the social consturction of the two major nations. Whereas, if the Congress demand is accepted, it is clear as daylight that we shall be thrown under the yoke not only of Hindu Raj but this present Congress Junta will still have the temerity to harp that they alone represent India, and that they are the sole successors to step in and establish the Congress Raj in place of the British Raj—a position which is impossible and intolerable.

Muslim India will never agree to its realization, and will be bound, and will have no other course open but to resist it by every means possible.

Bluff Than Reality

The British are threatened that if they don't surrender to the Congress demand there will be bloodshed, for which preparations are going on: that they will paralyse British trade, and they further threaten that the same will be the result if they favour Pakistan.

If, unfortunately, the British are stampeded by the threat of bloodshed, which is more a bluff than a reality, this time Muslim India is not going to remain passive or neutral. It is going to play its part and face all dangers. Mr. Nehru is greatly mistaken that there might be trouble, as he says, but not very much. He is still living in the atmosphere of 'Anand Bhawan'.

Equally, if the British fall a prey and are prepared to sell the Muslims for trade facilities, which are so profusely offered by the Congress leaders to them—and Mr. Gandhi has gone one better, as he has strongly expressed the view that they will be ready and willing to give 'preferences' to British goods. But they forget that the consumer has got a say in the matter, too, and not merely the Hindu capitalist patrons of the Congress, and that the largest consumers of British goods are Muslims. I hope that the commercial tendencies of Britain will not stampede into such alluring promises and attractive preferential trade offers. In fact, the Congress is always in the habit of giving terms, but they only not mean to keep them, and they over-rule any commitment that may be made according to the circumstances that may suit the Congress.

If Muslims Are Betrayed

"But apart from that: are the British going to sell the 100 million Muslims and millions of other minorities for the sake of illusory hopes and promises of their having a flourishing trade,

commerce and markets in India? It will be the greatest tragedy indeed in the history of Great Britain to go to that length—and what is more, it will never be realized.

"Gentlemen, I have had, as you know, long talks with the Secretary of State for India unofficially, and thereafter officially with the Cabinet Mission as a whole. I am not in a position to tell you anything except that it was a free and frank and most cordial exchange of views on various matters relating to the solution of India's constitutional problem that is facing us. But so far as we are concerned, there can be no compromise on the fundamentals of Pakistan and its sovereignty.

"We cannot agree to a single constitution-making body, because it will mean our signing our death-warrant and we cannot agree to consider any interim arrangement unless the Pakistan scheme is accepted as a *sine qua non.*

"If any interim arrangement or constitution is forced upon us, we have no other course open to us but to resist it in every way possible. I am sure I say this on behalf of all of you, that we are prepared to sacrifice any thing and every thing, but we shall not submit to any scheme of government prepared without our consent. And if the British go to that length, they will be guilty of the grossest breach of faith and the solemn assurances that they gave us when they wanted our blood and money in the midst of war by their declaration of August 1940. It will be the last straw on the camel's back, and we shall bear it with courage and determination and resist it by all means if they betray us. God is with us because our course is righteous and our demand is just to both Hindus and Muslims inhabiting this great Subcontinent, so we have nothing to fear. Let us march forward with complete unity amongst ourselves, as disciplined soldiers of Pakistan.

"Gentlemen, I am sure that you are full of joy and happiness at the great victory that we have achieved in the elections. You have shown to the world that we are a united

nation, and that we mean business. Now the only thing I can say is this: I do not think there is any power or any authority that can prevent us from achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan. There is only one condition—unity, and I am confident that we shall march on from victory to victory until we have Pakistan.

The Dawn, April 8, 1946.

872

Interview to Victor Lewis of The Western Mail, a leading Welsh National Daily, New Delhi, April 7, 1946.

The Western Mail, the leading Welsh national daily featured a despatch from Victor Lewis, its Special Correspondent in New Delhi, giving an exclusive interview with Mr. Jinnah at his New Delhi home.

The correspondent says that the "split Army, demand for Karachi and Calcutta as Muslim ports and a neutral corridor linking Muslim areas" were the vital points disclosed to him by Mr. Jinnah in a 75-minute talk.

"I asked Mr. Jinnah," says the correspondent, "how it was possible to get over the difficulty of a Hindu bloc created by the United Provinces and Nepal interrupting communications between the Muslim blocs in the north-east and north-west?"

Corridor

Mr. Jinnah answered that it would be essential to have a corridor of sufficient width, to be protected on the principle of the Suez Canal.

Regarding the future of the Indian Army Mr. Jinnah said, it should be split up into regiments, which came from Pakistan and those from Hindustan. Mr. Jinnah added that if Britain wished to withdraw her troops, it would be possible,

with a friendly Afghanistan and behind that a friendly Persia, for Pakistan troops of the Indian Army to discharge that obligation.

On the subject of ports. Mr. Jinnah said, Pakistan must have Calcutta and advanced an argument in support of that demand, that the bulk of the Hindu population in Calcutta did not naturally belong to Calcutta, but had been largely brought there by trade. Hindustan he said, had Bombay, Madrass and outlets through Ceylon. They could develop excellent ports south of Calcutta if they wished. "Pakistan should have a port for each Muslim bloc, presumably Calcutta and Karachi," he added. (Reuter)

The Dawn, April 11, 1946.

873

Speech at the conclusion of the Muslim Legislators Convention, Delhi, April 10, 1946.

"What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy, not for a theocratic state. Religion is there and religion is dear to us. All the worldly goods are nothing to us when we talk of religion; but there are other things which are very vital; our social life, our economic life, and without political power, how can you defend your faith and your economic life?

"After deliberations, we have made a resolve—we have made a solemn declaration in this august and historic convention that while we hope for the best we are prepared for the worst. In a clear, emphatic and definite declaration, we have expressed our determination to face all dangers. For us there is no other course.

"I too belong to a 'minority province.' Muslims in these provinces are the pioneers and first soldiers of Pakistan. But

now no question of minority or majority is left—on the issue of Pakistan it is now unanimity, except a few who are still not with us.

"I do not want to hurt their feelings, for, after all, what is the issue? And they do not count, but they might at least keep quiet now. Quite obviously they cannot, they have to do what they are doing; it is a case of the 'masters' voice.

"They do not count, and I say on this platform without fear of contradiction, that Muslim India is one and Pakistan is our demand.

"As I said, I also belong to a minority province, but let seventy millions of our brethren establish their 'raj.' But it is not only that. If there is any safeguard known in the world for minority provinces the most effective safeguard is the establishment of Pakistan. The present Constitution has safeguards also, but are paper safeguards any good?

"What will you do if after Akhand Hindustan is established they want to change the Constitution? Who will prevent them? Five years or ten years, and then if they say they will do away with separate electorates—what then? They will get stronger and stronger and you will get weaker and weaker, and all safeguards will be blotted out one by one.

No Quarrels

"We are not going to start with quarrels. We shall have enough to do and they will have enough to do, but if they begin it and our minorities are ill-treated, Pakistan cannot remain a passive spectator. If Britain in Gladstone's time could intervene in Armenia in the name of protection of minorities, why should it not be right for us to do so in the case of our minorities in Hindustan—if they are oppressed?

"There are those who say to us what is the good of your talking of Pakistan when you cannot form Ministries even in

your majority provinces? I say to them this is the very reason why we want to get rid of the existing Act of 1935 and establish Pakistan. Look at the spirit in which they are forming Ministries in the Muslim minority provinces and hindering us from forming Ministries in our majority provinces.

"We have taken this oath now—Ministries are nothing, merely a play-pen under the nurse.

"We Muslims have got everything—brains, intelligence, capacity and courage—virtues that nations must possess. But two things are lacking and I want you to concentrate your attention on these. One thing is that foreign domination from without and Hindu domination here, particularly on our economic life has caused a certain degeneration in these virtues in us.

Done Wonders

"We have lost the fullness of our noble character. And what is character? — Highest sense of honour and the highest sense of integrity—conviction—incorruptibility, readiness at any time to efface oneself for the collective good of the nation.

"And yet, we have done wonders. In five years our renaissance has been a miracle of achievement. I begin to think it has been a dream. How rapidly the nation is developing that character again in its pristine nobility! Our men, our women, our children—they think, talk and act differently now.

No nation achieves anything unless its women go side by side with men—even to the battlefield."

(*After a long pause*). "Is Britain going to decide the destiny of hundred million Muslims? No, nobody can. They can obstruct, they can delay for a little while, but they cannot stop us from our goal. Let us, therefore, rise at the conclusion of this historic convention full of hope, courage and faith. *Insha Allah*, we shall win."

The Dawn, April 11, 1946.

874

Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, Delhi, April 10, 1946.

The Council of the All India Muslim League at a three hour sitting in Delhi adopted resolutions on Palestine, Indonesian struggle for independence, the problem of the Indians in South Africa, the release of INA men, resettlement of demobilised soldiers, Line System in Assam, official interference in the elections and a number of other problems.

Mr. Jinnah welcomed the Councillors and said that they were meeting at a moment when important discussions were going on and the Cabinet Mission was in Delhi. He told the Councillors that discussions with the Cabinet Mission were going on in a very friendly and cordial manner.

Mr. Jinnah told the Councillors that there were other matters of importance which they should consider;

Firstly, they had to consider the unfortunate policy of the Government of India about INA men and the sentences passed on them which had created deep feelings throughout the country.

He said that the Government of India or whosoever was responsible for initiating the trials and then turning into farce the verdict of their court by releasing Captain Shah Nawaz and others had adopted a position untenable legally or morally.

Mr. Jinnah emphasised that he was not against the release of Captain Shah Nawaz and others. But, he said, there had been a fundamental change in the policy and it was worst than initiating trials. Rashid was the first victim of the policy.

He said Shah Nawaz was found guilty of murder while Rashid was found guilty of grievous hurt. Evidently to kill a man was a worse kind of brutality than to maim or hurt him.

Mr. Jinnah referred to his meetings in March with the Viceroy and Sir Arthur Smith whom he urged to release INA men.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Crown or the Crown Representative could commute the rest of the sentences passed on INA men and hoped that the Viceroy would perform the noble act of commuting the sentences entirely.

Referring to the Indian question in South Africa Mr. Jinnah said although the Government of India had given notice for the termination of the trade agreement its effect was being nullified by South Africa's attempts to buy their requirements in India during the interval of three months.

He urged the Government of India to take immediate steps to stop this and suggested that import licences should not be given to South Africa.

Mr. Jinnah paid a glowing tribute to the people of Indonesia who were heroically fighting for their freedom and assured the people of that country that Muslims would do everything to help them.

The Palestine Issue

Referring to the Palestine problem he said: "Ever since the mandate was given to Britain it has been a black history and is getting blacker". He deplored that even a great power like Britain had to bow and dishonour her words under the pressure from the Jewry of America.

He said: "We cannot remain silent and we must assure the Arabs that Indian Muslims will stand by them. Indian Muslims sympathised with Arabs not only because they were co-religionists but also because Arab cause was just.

Mr. Jinnah thanked the Councillors for coming in such large numbers and said: "Our goal of Pakistan has been well injected in your blood and soon it will get into your bones."

The Dawn, April 11, 1946.

875

Message to Weekly Muslim Times of Nagpur, New Delhi, April 16, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President All India Muslim League has sent the following message to *'Muslim Times'* (weekly) of Nagpur which makes its first appearance early next month.

"I am very glad to know that the C.P. Provincial Muslim Students' Federation is shortly starting a weekly entitled *'Muslim Times'* with a vowed object of promoting the cause of All India Muslim League and Pakistan.

"The lack of strong press has been a serious handicap to Muslim nation in India and we have suffered a great deal on that account. I congratulate Muslim students of C.P. for having given lead to elders in their province in this respect as I am informed that *'Muslim Times'* will be the only Muslim English paper in C.P.

"I wish this venture all success and have no doubt that the Paper will advocate the cause of Pakistan faithfully, courageously and undauntedly. Managed and controlled as it is by youngmen, I am sure it will not lack vigour, zeal and force which is a characteristic of the youth.

"Pakistan is for the younger generation of today: to assure them of an independent, honourable existence to generate them and their generation a safe future in their own homes so that they may live and flourish according to their own ideals, principles and standards in life like any respectable nation on the globe. And to achieve this cherished goal, I am confident they will play manfully the part that is expected of them by our nation." (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 17, 1946.

876

Interview to the Press regarding his meeting with Mr. Hoover, New Delhi, April 23, 1946.

In an interview Mr. Jinnah was asked if he was meeting ex-President Hoover on Wednesday morning. Mr. Jinnah replied: "I have no invitation either from Mr. Hoover or from the Viceroy to meet at the Food Conference tomorrow. All that I know is that late this evening a telephonic message came from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy that Mr. Hoover just wanted to see me and would 9-30 tomorrow morning suit me and I agreed. The interview was fixed up and later on I was told that Mr. Hoover could not come to my residence as he had other engagements.

"I said: I am sorry, as I had other engagements as well, I could not possibly manage any other time. I had conveyed my cordial greetings to Mr. Hoover and so far as the food question is concerned I believe the Government of India must have given him all the information."

"We have from the very commencement declared our unconditional co-operation with the Government in tackling the food crisis without any party politics or bringing in political issues." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 24, 1946.

877

Statement on the report of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine, New Delhi, May 1, 1946.

"From the summary of the report of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine, which has appeared in the Press today, I can only say that this is the grossest betrayal of the promises made to the Arabs and a shock to me.

"The Arabs and the Muslim world will not take it lying down if these monstrous recommendations are sought to be implemented."

QAP-F-810/p.2

878

Statement on the British decision to withdraw troops from Egypt, Simla, May 8, 1946.

"I am glad to hear the news that the British Government has decided to withdraw troops from Egypt. Muslim world, I am sure, will rejoice to hear this news. I heartly congratulate His Majesty the King and the people of Egypt on behalf of Muslim India for having achieved their independence. There still remains for Britain to give an honourable deal to the national demands of Palestine Arabs and Muslim India in their demand for Pakistan."

The Dawn, May 9, 1946.

879

Memorandum on minimum demands,

Simla, May 12, 1946.

The following Memorandum was issued by the President of the All-India Muslim League, (Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah) embodying minimum demands by way of an offer, in accordance with the Simla Tripartite Conference decision, dated May 12, 1946, which had been endorsed by the League Working Committe meeting at Simla, May 10-13, 1946:

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except Foriegn Affairs, Defence and Communications neccessary for Defence, which may be dealt with by the Constitution-making Bodies of the two groups of Provinces-Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Provinces—sitting together.

2. There shall be a separate Constitution-making Body for the six Muslim Provinces named above, which will frame constitutions for the Group and the Provinces in the Group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the Provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the Constitution-making Body will be such as would secure proper representation to various communities in proportion to their population in each Province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the Constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the provinces are finally framed by the Constitution-making Body, it will be open to any Province of the Group to decide to opt out of its Group, provided the wishes of

the people of that Province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the Joint Constitution-making Body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for decision of the joint meeting of the two constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two Groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

7. No major point in the Union Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Joint Constitution-making Body, unless the majority of the members of the Constitution-making Body of the Hindu Provinces and the majority of the members of the Constitution-making Body of the Pakistan Group present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths.

9. In Group and Provincial constitutions fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10 The Constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any Province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of 10 years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.

QAP-F & L/P&J/10/41:ff 26-27.

880

Statement on the Cabinet Mission's plan for the formation of the Constitution of India, Simla, May 22, 1946.

"I have now before me the Statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 16th May, 1946, issued at Delhi. Before I deal with it, I should like to give a background of the discussions that took place at Simla from the 5th of May onwards till the conference was declared concluded and its breakdown announced in the Official Communique dated 12th May, 1946. We met in the Conference on the 5th May to consider the formula embodied in the letter of the Secretary of State for India dated 27th April, 1946, inviting the League representatives.

"The formula was as follows: A Union Government is to deal with the following subjects—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of provinces, one of the predominantly Hindus provinces, and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all the other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and have all the residuary powers and sovereign rights.

The Muslim League's position was that:

Firstly, the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India, constitute the Pakistan zones and should be constituted as a sovereign independent state; and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.

Secondly, that separate constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions.

Thirdly, that minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the Lahore Resolution.

Fourthly, that the acceptance of the League demand and its implementation without delay were a '*sine quo non*' for the League cooperation and participation in the formation of an interim government at the Centre.

Fifthly, it gave a warning to the British Government against any attempt to impose a Federal constitution on a United India basis or forcing any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the League demand; and that Muslim India would resist if any attempts to impose it were made.

Besides, such an attempt would be the grossest breach of faith of the declaration of His Majesty's Government made in August 1940, with the approval of the British Parliament and subsequent pronouncements by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible British statesmen from time to time reaffirming the August Declaration.

Mission's Invitation

We accepted the invitation to attend the Conference without prejudice and without any commitment and without accepting the fundamental principles underlying this short formula of the Mission on the assurance given by the Secretary of State for India in his letter dated the 29th April, 1946, wherein he said: "We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter." These terms are: "Our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives

to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

The Congress position in reply to the invitation was stated in their letter of April 28, 1946, that a strong Federal Government at the centre with present provinces as federating units be established and they laid down that Foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency, Customs, Tariffs and "such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to them," should vest in the Central Federal Government.

They negatived the idea of grouping of provinces, However, they also agreed to participate in the Conference to discuss the formula of the Cabinet Delegation.

After days of discussion no appreciable progress was made. Finally, I was asked to give our minimum terms in writing. Consequently, we embodied certain fundamental principles of our terms in writing as an offer to the Congress in the earnest desire for a peaceful and amicable settlement and for the speedy attainment of freedom and independence of the peoples of India. It was communicated to the Congress on the 12th May and a copy of it was sent to the Cabinet Mission at the same time.

League Offer

The following were the terms of the offer:

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for Defence, which may be dealt with by the Constitution-making bodies of the two groups of Provinces—Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Provinces—sitting together.

2. There shall be a separate constitution-making body for the six Muslim Provinces named above, which will frame constitutions for the Group and the Provinces in the Group and will determine the list of subjets that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the Provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the constituion-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each Province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the Provinces are finally framed by the constituion-making body, it will be open to any Province of the Group to decide to opt out of its Group, provided the wishes of the people of that Province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the joint constituion-making body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for decision of the joint meeting of the two constituion-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two Groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

7. No major point in the Union Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed in the joint constitution-making body, unless the majority of the members of the constitution-making body, of the Hindu Provinces and the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Pakistan Group, present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, except by a majority of three fourths.

9. In Group and Provincial constitutions, fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters, affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10. The constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any Province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution, and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

The Crux

The crux of our offer, as it will appear from its text, was *inter alia* that the six Muslim Provinces should be grouped together as Pakistan group and the remaining as Hindustan Group and on the basis of two federations we were willing to consider the Union or Confederation strictly confined to three subjects only, namely, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for defence, which the two sovereign federations would voluntarily delegate to the Confederation.

All the remaining subjects and the residue were to remain vested in the two federations and the provinces respectively. This was intended to provide for a transitional period, as after an initial period of ten years we were free to secede from the Union. But unfortunately this most conciliatory and reasonable offer was in all its fundamentals not accepted by the Congress, as will appear from their reply to our offer.

On the contrary, their final suggestions were the same as regards the subjects to be vested in the Centre as they had been before the Congress entered the Conference and they made one more drastic suggestion for our acceptance that the centre must also have the power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies. This was stated in their reply dated May 12, 1946, which was communicated to us.

At this stage the Conference broke down and we were informed that the British Cabinet Delegation would issue their statement which is now before the public.

To begin with, the statement is cryptic with several lacunas and the operative part of it is comprised of a few short paragraphs to which I shall refer later.

I regret that the Mission should have negatived Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete Sovereign State of Pakistan, which, we still hold, is the only solution of the constitutional problem of India and which alone can secure stable Governments and lead to the happiness and welfare not only of the two major communities, but of all the peoples of this sub-continent.

It is all the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought fit to advance commonplace and exploded arguments against Pakistan and resorted to special pleadings couched in a deplorable language which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India.

Placate Congress

It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress, because when they came to face the realities, they themselves made the following pronouncements embodied in paragraph 5 of the Statement, which says:

"This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

"This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslim that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be

secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and econmic or other interests."

And again in paragraph 12:

"This decision does not, however, blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element."

And now what recommendations have they made perceptibly securing the object in view and in the light of very clear and emphatic conclusions they arrived at in paragraph 12 of this Statement ?

I shall now deal with some of the important points in the operative part of the Statement:

(1) They have divided Pakistan into two — what they call Section B (for the North-Western Zone) and Section C (for the North-Estern Zone).

(2) Instead of two constitution-making bodies, only one constitution-making body is devised, that for Sections A, B and C.

(3) They lay down that "there should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects."

There is no indication at all that the commmunications would be restricted to what is necessary for defence. Nor is there any indication as to how this Union will be empowered to raise finances required for these three subjects, while our view was that finances should be raised only by contributions and not by taxation:

(4) It is laid down that "The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

Concessions Ignored

While our view was : (a) That there should be no Legislature for the Union, but the question should be left to the Constituent Assembly to decide: (b) that there should be parity of representation between the Pakistan Group and the Hindustan Group in the Union Executive and Legislature, if any; and (c) that no decision, legislative, executive and administrative should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, execpt by a majority of three-fourths. All these three terms of our offer have been omitted from the Statement.

Indeed there is one safeguard for the conduct of business in the Union Legislature; that any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representative present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

Even this is vague and ineffective. To begin with, who will decide and how as to what is a major communal issue and as to what is a minor communal issue and what is a purely non-communal issue?

(5) Our proposal that the Pakistan Group should have a right to secede from the Union after an initial period of ten years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted and now we are only limited to a restriction of

terms of the Union Constitution after an initial period of ten years.

(6) Coming to the constitution-making machinery, here again a representative of British Baluchistan is included in Section B, but how he will be elected is not indicated.

(7) With regard to the constitution-making body for the purpose of framing the proposed Union Constitution, it will have an overwhelming Hindu majority. In a House of 292 for British India, the Muslim strength will be 79 and if the number allotted to the Indian States, i,e, 93, is taken into account, it is quite obvious that the Muslims proportion will be further reduced as the bulk of the States representatives would be Hindus.

This Assembly, so constituted, will elect the Chairman and other Officers and, it seems, also the Members of the Advisory Committee referred in paragraph 20 of the Statement by a majority, and the same rule will apply to other normal business. But I note that there is only one saving clause which runs as follows:

"In the Union Constitution Assembly resolutions varying the provision of Paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

Chairman's Powers

"The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutins raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision."

It follows, therefore, that it will be the Chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court. Nor need anybody know what that opinion was, as the Chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court.

(8) With regard to the provinces opting out of the Group, it is left to the new Legislature of the Provinces, after the first General Election under the new consititution, to decide indstead of a referendum of the people as was suggested by us.

(9) As for paragraph 20, which runs as follows:

"The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group or Union Constitution."

No Anticipation

This raises a very serious question indeed, for if it is left to the Union Constituent Assembly to decide these matters by a majority vote whether any of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee should be incorporated in the Union Constitution, then it will open a door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principles that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects.

These are some of the main points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not wish to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League which are going to meet shortly at Delhi.

They will finally take such decisions as they may think proper after careful consideration of the pros and cons and a thorough and dispassionate examination of the Statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy. (O.P.I.)

QAP-F-12/pp.131-144
& The Dawn, May 23, 1946.

881

Speech in reply to the address presented by the Simla District Muslim League, Simla, May 30, 1946.

The hope that they might be able to solve the constituional problem facing India in a friendly and amicable manner was expressed by the Muslim League President Mr. M.A.Jinnah, speaking at a reception organized by Simla Muslims under the auspices of the District Muslim League at Davico's ballroom.

Mr. Jinnah added, "It is with this spirit that I am going to Delhi and I hope that your good wishes will carry us through".

Mr. Jinnah earlier said: "I don't want to say anything just now as you know the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is going to meet on June 3. You also know that the Council of the All-India Muslim League which is composed of 475 members elected from every province is our Parliament and it is that Parliament which will finally decide the matter.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated that a hundred million Musalmans were with the League. He knew that they were being put to test and it would be a serious matter for everyone concerned.

No More Quarrelling

Mr. Jinnah referred to the bitterness now in existence and said that so far as he was concerned, it was not going to affect him. He also felt sure that Muslim India would rise above it. After all, he declared they could not go on quarrelling all the time. Musalmans had undergone numerous sufferings and he hoped to put an end to it with the help and co-operation of Muslims and others. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, May 31, 1946.

882

Speech at a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, New Delhi, June 5, 1946.

Momentous Decisions

Mr. Jinnah, began his address by saying that the Council had been summoned 'on an occasion which is a very serious one indeed.' "You have got to decide momentous issues now facing you," he said.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the negotiations in Delhi, the progress and the final breakdown of the Tripartite Conference at Simla, the publication of the British Cabinet Mission's scheme and the correspondence that took place between the three parties and his comment on the Mission's proposals.

You have got all the material before you and the decisions you have to take on Wednesday or on Thursday are going to be of far-reaching importance and consequence.

No doubt, the Working Committee could have followed the normal procedure on the analogy of a Cabinet. It could have, if it had chosen to do so, come to a decision and formulated a resolution of its own after the two days' discussions it had had and it could have presented its decision to the Council for confirmation. But the Working Committee thought that this was an exceptional position of grave importance and, therefore, that was not the course for it to adopt.

Committee's View

If we had taken any decision and placed it before you and if you disapproved of it, there would have been no other course open to us except to resign and we thought that we should not create such a situation when the Council is meeting and when there is no urgency and no necessity for such a course.

Members of the Working Committee have discussed the pros and cons for hours and we thought we should not anticipate your verdict or your decision, and, therefore, we have adopted this course that the Council, having regard to the gravity of the situation, should take the responsibility for whatever decision you arrive at.

I want, therefore, every member to feel that he is free and he is not tied down or fettered by any step that we have taken which prevents him in any way for expressing his opinion or taking his final decision, whatever it may be. It is now up to you as the Parliament of the Muslim Nation to take your decision.

Demand For Pakistan

Let me tell you that Muslim India will not rest content until we have established full, complete and sovereign Pakistan. And I repel with all the emphasis that I can command the arguments and the reasons and the way in which the Mission has mutilated the facts for no other purpose except to please and appease the Congress. (Cries of 'shame, shame'.)

In fact the foundation and the basis of Pakistan are there in their own scheme. (Hear, hear.)

"Greatest Blunder"

That was one of the greatest blunders that they have made, and the result has been this. The Congress Press and the Hindus, when they heard these phrases and had this sugar-coated pill (laughter) that Pakistan was rejected, there was jubilation and, naturally, amongst the Muslims there was the strongest condemnation and resentment. But it was a sugar-coated pill and there was so little sugar that within a short time the Congress Press felt it was a pill minus sugar. (Laughter)

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to his recent remarks at a Muslim reception at Simla and the interpretation put on those

remarks. These grave issues, he said, were not to be decided by a word here, or a phrase there, or by mere sentiment or slogans.

It had been reported that he said, "We cannot keep quarrelling all the time." The obtuse mentality of a section of the Press at once jumped to the conclusion, 'Mr. Jinnah has come to his senses.'

I am glad I have come to my senses, but I wish they will also come to their senses. (Laughter) Surely it requires two parties for a quarrel but in this case there are three and even four parties, leaving smaller minorities.

Muslim Suffering

When I say we cannot keep quarrelling all the time, am I not addressing every one of them, including ourselves? I know and I repeat this, that the Musalmans have suffered, and suffered to an extent that I shudder to think of.

Six years ago the position of the Musalmans was such that they would have been wiped off. In every walk of life the Musalmans have suffered and are suffering now. I want to say, put an end to this suffering and for us there is no other goal except the establishment of Pakistan. May be, obstacles will be put in our way but nothing is going to make us flinch or falter to any way or budge by a hair's breadth from doing everything in our power to reach our goal and establish Pakistan.

"We'll Take Pakistan"

I repeat from this platform that delay is not good either for the British Government or the Hindus. If they love freedom, if they love the independence of India, if they want to be free, then the sooner they realise the better that the quickest way is to agree to Pakistan. Either you agree or we shall have it in spite of you.

What methods they would adopt and what instruments they would use would depend upon the time and circumstances.

Food Situation

Madras and Mysore are in a serious position. We offer our hand of co-operation to every department of the Government, whatever this Government may be. In response to the call of humanity, we must see that not a single man dies for want of food. So far as this matter is concerned, there is only one decision, and that is, do your best whatever you are to fight starvation.

South Africa

Indians there are treated like 'pariahs.' I know that General Smuts would say that India had sixty million untouchables. I admit that untouchability is a disgrace, but is that any reason for saying that two blacks make one white. Because India is cursed with this terrible blot, did it lie in the mouth of the Head of any civilised government to say: "Therefore, I shall also have a black spot on my government, on my country and my nation; and although it does not exist, I will creat one now."

South Africa's 'Crime'

There were no two opinions among any honest persons either in this country or outside that the Ghetto Bill was a blot on civilisation; that it was a crime against those who helped the building up of South Africa and were legitimately there. Our fullest sympathies go to our people who are struggling.

Dealing with Palestine, he condemned the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee for the admission of a lakh of Jews into Palestine.

Can you come to any other conclusion than this, that this is thoroughly dishonest and that they have disregarded every canon of fairness and justice?

He called upon the Arabs to fight this recommendation and to see that not one more Jew landed in Palestine. Muslim India must come to the assistance of the Arabs.

Mr. Jinnah condemned the Dutch imperialist hold on Indonesia and said that so far Britian had not played an honourable part in this.

Britan's Broken Promises

About Libya he said that the British had given solemn promises that never again would the Muslims there suffer Italian rule and now the British had gone back on that promise.

Discussing the recent events in Kashmir he uttered this solemn warning to the Maharaja. 'Please see that you do not hurt one single innocent Muslim otherwise you will compel all Muslims to jump into this ray—and that will be very serious indeed."

Mr. Jinnah made a reference to riots in provinces where the Congress was in power and reiterated that there was only one remedy, and that was the establishment of Pakistan. When Pakistan was established, Hindus would think differently. At present, unfortunately, the Hindu had a wind in his head that wherever a Congress Ministry was established a Hindu raj was established.

There is no remedy for a disease of the kind. Where a man is under a delusion, the only place for him is a lunatic asylum. With this delusion, the Hindu is arrogant, tyrannical and oppressive. But I think all this will sober down. If it does not, then we shall have to do something to make it sober down.

These instances show that they are driving one more nail into their own coffin. The more they do this, the more will they regret. (A.P.I. & Dawn's Special Correspondent)

The Dawn, June 6, 1946.

883

Speech at the Secret Session of the All India Muslim League Council, New Delhi, June 6, 1946.

"I advised you to reject the Cripps proposal, I advised you to reject the last Simla Conference formula. But I cannot advise you to reject the British Cabinet Mission's proposal. I advise you to accept it." With these words, Mr. M. A. Jinnah wound up the long-drawn debate on the Cabinet Mission's proposal in the secret session of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at New Delhi on the next day, the 6th June 1946.

Mr. Jinnah added: "The Lahore resolution did not mean that when Muslims put forward their demand, it must be accepted at once. It is a big struggle and a continued struggle. The first struggle was to get the representative character of the League accepted. That fight they had started and they had won. Acceptance of the Mission's proposal was not the end of their struggle for Pakistan. They should continue their struggle till Pakistan was achieved."

Mr. Jinnah said that they could create a deadlock in the Constituent Assembly if anything was done against their wishes. They would continue to fight in the Constituent Assembly for their objective. They would also fight for the right of the Units or Groups to rejoin the Group from which they seceded.

As regards groupings, Mr. Jinnah is reported to have expressed satisfaction and said: The Groups should have power on all subjects except defence, communications and foreign affairs. But so far as defence was concerned, it would remain in the hands of the British till the new constitution was enforced. So they need not worry about it now. They would fight in the

Constituent Assembly to restrict "Communications" to what was absolutely necessary for defence only.

The Indian Annual Register, 1946, Vol, I/p.182.

884

Statement on Kashmir situation, New Delhi, June 21, 1946.

"Choudhry Ghulam Abbas, the President-elect of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and other Kashmir Leaders had a long talk with me and they gave me all available information regarding the recent occurrences in Kashmir. From the reports received by me, I gather that the "Quit Kashmir" slogan is not the official creed adopted by "The National Conference" of which Shaikh Abdullah is the President. Besides, Pandit Jawaharlal who is the President of the All India States 'People' Conference, and also the President-elect of the Congress has in his recent statements to the press catagorically repudiated the "Quit Kashmir" slogan, as it is not authorised by the National Conference nor approved by the Congress, or the State's People Conference, therefore, it seems that this movement was started by certain individuals, who had a backing of only a small section of the people in Kashmir.

I am furnished with the copies of the resolutions passed by the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference on the ninth of June and the demands and the grievances set forth generally are just and long over due. I hope that the Maharaja will now without further delay, meet the demands not only of the Muslim Conference but of the people of Kashmir generally, of full responsible government to be granted immediately, and take steps to implement the declaration without delay, and redress the grievances, particularly of the Mussalmans, who are groaning under the present regime and administration.

As regards the handling of the situation that had arisen in Kashmir by the Kashmir administration, I am sorry to say that in some cases force was used and firing resorted to when it was not necessary, and those excesses are to be deplored if it is true, and I think that the Kashmir Government should appoint an impartial enquiry committee to examine the causes of this revolt, and the persons responsible for it, and also to enquire and determine whether excess force was used.

I appeal to the Mussalmans of Jummu and Kashmir to maintain complete unity and solidarity and rally round the flag of Muslim Conference under the leadership of Ch. Ghulam Abbas and stand firmly by your demands which have been embodied in the resolutions of the Working Committee referred to above. Here I wish to strike a note of caution to the Mussalmans that they should beware of their enemies and not be misled by slogans in Kashmir and stampede into an action, which would gravely prejudice their interests. If you allowed yourselves to play in the hands of astute agents whose efforts and manoeuvres are, and will be to approach the Mussalmans in the guise of friends, but really to disrupt the Mussalmans, you will do incalculable harm to your cause.

I assure the Mussalmans of Jammu and Kashmir that the All India Muslim League will back them up with regard to all their legitimate demands and for the redress of their grievances in every way and by every means possible."

QAP-F-917/p.281 &
The Dawn, June 22, 1946.

885

Statement on the formation of the Interim Government, New Delhi, June 27, 1946.

I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their Statement of June 16 as that Statement clearly says that the Viceroy aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26. It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure," says Mr. M.A. Jinnah President, All-India Muslim League in a statement.

The statement adds: "The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the Statement of June 16 and Clause 8 of the Statement taken along with the context is clear.

"The Delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their Statement of June 16.

"I would like to emphasise that if any attempt is made to whittle down in any way the assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16 which has been accepted by the Muslim League, it will be regarded by Muslim India as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith. The British Government will in that case forfeit the confidence of Muslim India and of those whom they expect to work, on their part according to their pledged word".

Referring to the resolution of the Congress, Mr. Jinnah says: "I must emphatically repudiate their bogus claim that they represent India and their claim to 'national' character. The

Congress are a Hindu organization and they do not represent any other community except the Caste Hindus.

Mr. Jinnah considers it a wrong interpretation for the Congress to assert that any province or provinces is or are entitled to opt out initially and that they have a right at any stage to do so if they persist on this and adopt measures to set at naught what is described by the statement of the Delegation of May 25 to constitute the essential features of the scheme, the whole plan will be wrecked at its very inception.

The following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's statement:-

"I have considered the letter of the Congress President addressed to Lord Wavell dated June 25, the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress released to the Press yesterday and the statement of the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy issued in New Delhi on Wednesday June 26, but a copy of which has not yet been furnished to me. I think it is necessary for me to state shortly as to what occurred during the progress of the negotiations at various stages from time to time.

"Prior to the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16, and further statement of May 25, the Viceroy at Simla represented to me that he would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government on the basis of the formula 5:5:2, i.e. 5 on behalf of the Muslim League, 5 on behalf of the Congress, one Sikh, and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important of them would be equally divided between the Congress and the Muslim League, further details being left open for discussion.

"With the permission of the Viceroy I was authorised to state this formula to the Working Committee at Simla, on the assumption that the long-term Proposals would be such as would be acceptable to us. Thereafter again, on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, in my

interview on June 3, the Viceroy repeated the same formula and authorised me to communicate it to my Working Committee.

"This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with them together with the two statements of the Cabinet Delegation dated May 16 and May 25. The long-term plan and the Interim Government formula together formed one whole and this formula regarding the Interim Government was an integral part of the whole scheme and as such the Council of the All-India Muslim League gave its final decision on that basis on June 6.

How Talks Broke Down

"Thereafter, the Viceroy sent for me on June 13 and he suggested a formula of 5:5:3. Owing to the agitation set on foot by the Congress Press and the opposition of the Congress to the original formula, I had already given a warning to the Viceroy in a letter on June 2, that any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, would lead to serious consequences and would not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League, and that I might have to call a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League again.

At my interview with the Viceroy on June 13, I was told by him that he wanted to change the basis of the original formula and proceed on the basis of 5 Congress, 5 Muslim League and 3 others i.e. one Sikh one Scheduled Caste and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. In spite of the difficulties that I had pointed out would arise. I informed the Viceroy that if the Congress were finally to agree to this new formula I would place it before my Working Committee for their consideration.

"But even this second proposal of the Viceroy was turned down by the Congress and His Excellency the Viceroy, informed me by his letter dated June 15 that he had failed to negotiate an agreement on the basis which he had suggested and that the

Cabinet Delegation and he had decided to issue their statement on June 16 on the action they proposed to take.

"Accordingly, the Statement of June 16, was issued to the Press and an advance copy was sent to me. The terms were, we were categorically informed, final and not open to any modification, except that the names in the statement could not be regarded as final, untill the Vieroy had, received acceptances from those invited to take office in the Interim Government.

On June 19, I wrote to the Viceroy seeking 'certain clarifications regarding the statement of June 16, to which a reply was received from him on June 20 after he had consulted the Cabinet Delegation. The following extracts are from that letter of the Vieroy in reply to questions put to him:

(1) "Untill I have received the acceptance of those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the statement can not be regarded as final. No change is proposed to be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

(2) "No change in the number of 14 members of the Interim Government will be made without agreement of the two major parties.

(3) "If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties for filling it.

(4) "The proportion of the members by 'communities' will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties.

(5) No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point.

"I had by my letter of June 19 informed the Viceroy that in view of the serious changes which had from time to time been made to satisfy the Congress. It was not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of formation of the Interim Government, so long as the Congress did not convey their final decision on the proposals of June 16 to the Viceroy and until it was communicated to me.

"It was finally arranged that the Congress should give their decision by Sunday June 23, and the League should give its decision on the same day or immediately thereafter. The reply of the Congress was, however, not forthcoming till late in the evening on June 25, and I was asked to meet the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy the same evening. There I was furnished with a copy of the letter of the President of the Congress dated June 25.

League Reservation

"According to the arrangement referred to above, I placed this reply before my Working Committee immediately and the same day the Muslim League Working Committee adopted the following resolution which was communicated to H.E. the Viceroy, the same night.

The President of the All-India Muslim League placed before the Working Committee, a copy furnished to him by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation in the course of their interview with him this evening, of the letter of the Congress President addressed to the Viceroy, conveying the decision of the Congress with regard to the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contained in their statements of May 16 and June 16, 1946.

1. According to the understanding that the Muslim League Working Committee will give their decision after the Congress has decided, and as desired by the Viceroy by the letter of his Private Secretary dated 21 addressed to the Honorary Secretary

of the All-India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, that the decision of the Muslim League be communicated immediately after the reply of the Congress, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League hereby resolve to agree to join the interim Government on the basis of the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated June 16, 1946 and the clarifications and assurances given by the Viceroy after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in his letter dated June 20, 1946, addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

2. The Working Committee cannot accept the contention of the Congress contained in the aforesaid letter that the Congress is entitled to adhere to its interpretation of some of the provisions in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated May 16, 1946, which is opposed to the interpretation and explanation embodied in the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on May 25, 1946.

3. With regard to the rest of the letter of the Congress President, the Working Committee reserve their observation for the present.

"I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their Statement of June 16 as that Statement clearly says that the Viceroy aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26. It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure.

"The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the Statement of June 16 and Clause 8 of the Statement, taken along with the context, is quite clear and the Delegation and the Viceroy were in honour

bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their Statement of June 16.

Congress's Bogus Claim

"As regards the resolution of the Congress, I most emphatically repudiate their bogus claim that they represent India and their claim to "national" character. The Congress are a Hindu organisation and they do not represent any other community except the Caste Hindus. They certainly do not represent the Muslims and the mere fact that they have a handful of Muslim henchmen for the purpose of window-dressing cannot give the national character which they claim, nor the right to represent India upon which they keep on harping.

"This has been established beyond doubt in the recent elections the results of which show that the Muslim League carried away 90 per cent of the total of Muslim seats in the various legislatures, and out of the remaining 10 per cent the Congress share does not amount to more than 4 per cent.

The Congress, therefore have no right to represent or speak on behalf of the Muslims and their refusal to accept the proposals for the formation of the Interim Government is based on sinister motives. First, they wanted to break the parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus. It was accepted by them at Simla last year at the Conference called by the Viceroy in connection with the Wavell Proposals, and secondly, their insistence on nominating a Congress Muslim is aimed at striking at the fundamentals of the League and its Muslim national representative character and at attempting to establish a false claim that the Congress represents the Muslims and the Muslim League is not the representative organisation of Muslim India.

As it is pointed out above, the Congress claim is not true nor based upon facts and therefore the Muslim League cannot

be a party directly or indirectly to any course of action which is calculated to prop up this bogus claim.

Safeguard Necessary

"As regards the safeguard that no decision on any major communal issue could be taken if the majority of the main parties were opposed to it of which assurance was given by the Viceroy, this is absolutely necessary to protect the Muslim interests as the number is now increased from 12 to 14, and although there is parity between the Caste Hindus and the Muslims, the Muslims will be in a minority of little over one-third in the whole executive.

"I gather from the letter of the President of the Congress that the Viceroy represented to him that in his proposal there was no parity either between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and the Muslim League in as much as there were to be 6 Hindus belonging to the Congress as against 5 Muslims belonging to the Muslim League. One of the six Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Caste.

"Whether this version is true or not, it is contrary to what the Viceroy said in his letter of June 20 to me which clarifies the points riased by me and in that he says. "The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties." However, I want to make it clear that if there is any departure made on the principle of parity or if the Congress is allowed to nominate a Muslim, in either case it will be impossible for the Muslim League to agree to it as that would strike at the very fundamentals of the League.

Notwithstanding the clear Statement of May 16 and the further statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of May 25, clarifying and finally giving their authoritative interpretation, the Congress, both in the letter of the President and their resolution adhere to their wrong interpretation that

any province or provinces is or are entitled to opt out initially and that have a right at any stage to do so.

"This is clear indication that the Congress is not accepting the long term proposals in a sincere and honest spirit of co-operation and peaceful settlement. If they persist in this and adopt measures to set at nought what is described by the statement of the Delegation of May 25, to constitute the essential feature of the scheme the whole plan will be wrecked at its very inception.

Congress Propaganda

"As regards the many other statements and allegations that are made in the letter of the Congress President, they are merely intended for propaganda and some of them are not relevant to the immediate issues, but I have no means of dealing with them as I do not know what actually took place between the Congress President and the Viceroy or the Delegation as I have not got the correspondence that passed between them on various points to which references have been made in this letter.

"In conclusion I would like to emphasise that if any attempt is made to whittle down in any way the assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16, which has been accepted by the Muslim League, it will be regarded by Muslim India as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith. The British Government will in that case forfeit the confidence of Muslim India and of those whom they expect to work, on their part, according to their pledged word."

The Dawn, June 28, 1946.

886

Statement refuting Viceroy's Statement and alleging that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their word, New Delhi, June 29, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement issued maintains that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their word within ten days of the publication of their final proposals in not implementing the statement of June 16.

Mr. Jinnah deplores that only a few letters torn from the rest of the correspondence that passed between him and the Delegation and the Viceroy have been published. Therefore, as a part of his statement, Mr. Jinnah has released the correspondence that passed between him and the Viceroy.

Mr. Jinnah makes the following observations among other points.

The Viceroy had assured him that the Interim Government would be based on the 5:5:2 formula.

The Mission by postponing indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government have gone back on their words.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly should be postponed because according to the statements of the Mission, the long-term and short-term plans formed one complete whole. It is therefore undesirable to proceed with one part, namely, elections to the Constituent Assembly and to postpone the other.

The Viceroy's letter of June 25 conveying the Mission's final decision on the Interim Proposals reached Mr. Jinnah after the League Working Committee had passed the resolution accepting the Interim Proposals.

The Viceroy in this letter says that negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government will be reopened after elections to the Constituent Assembly were over.

The following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's statement:

The Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy have thought fit to release only a few letters torn from the rest of the correspondence that passed between me and the Delegation and the Viceroy which have a very important bearing on the present controversy.

That the Viceroy did make a clear presentation to me that he would proceed to form his Interim Government on the basis of the formula 5:5:2 i.e. five representatives of the Muslim League, five of the Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion.

The Viceroy further authorised me to make that representation to my Working Comittee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League which I did, and it was on that basis that, both the Working Committee and the Council were induced to accept the long-term plan and the proposal for the Interim Government together as a whole.

This formula had a vital bearing and did greatly weigh with the Council of the All-India Muslim League in coming to their final decision, which was communicated to the Viceroy on June 7. Immediately thereafter sinister agitation was set on foot by the Congress Press against this formula and I informed the Viceroy by my letter of June 8, by way of caution, that there should be no departure from this formula. Below is the full text of this letter which speaks for itself:

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated June 8, 1946:

Dear Lord Wavell,

During the course of our discussions regarding the Interim Government at Simla and thereafter at Delhi on June 3, after my arrival and before the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee took place, you were good enough to give me the assurance that there will be twelve portfolios, five on behalf of the League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Christian or Anglo-Indian; and that, as regards the portfolios, the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in the distribution thereof, further details being left open for discussion.

With your previous permission I informed the Working Committee of this assurance and this was one of the most important considerations which weighed, with them together with the Statement of the Cabinet Mission.

These two together formed one whole and, as such the Council of the All-India Muslim League has given its final decision on the 6th of June. I may further inform you that similarly I had to repeat the assurance to the Council before they finally gave their approval.

As you know, the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held in 'camera' and there again, the House showed great opposition to the scheme in the begining. During the course of discussions at a very early stage a large body of opposition was satisfied when I made the statement in answer to the very pressing question as to what our position will be with regard to the Interim Government.

But for this assurance we could not have got the approval of the Council to the scheme. As requested by you I took as much care as possible to see that it did not become public.

I am writing this letter to you as I find that a very sinister agitation has been set on foot by the Congress Press against your formula stated above, which was the turning point in our having secured the decision of the Council.

Any departure from this formula, directly or indirectly, will lead to very serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League.

You know further that the Congress may adopt an offensive attitude by including a Muslim in their quota, which will be strongly resented by the Muslim League and which will be another very great hurdle before us.

Yours sincerely

M. A. JINNAH,

The Viceroy replied by his letter of the 9th June and in this letter he did not take exception to the facts stated by me in my letter quoted above. Only, according to him "there was no assurance on this point." The following is the full text of Viceroy's letter.

Letter from H.E., the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated June 9, 1946:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday. You speak of an assurance about the 5:5:2 ratio. There was no assurnace on this point, but I told you, as I told the Congress, that this was what I had in mind. It would be wrong for me to leave you under the impression that there was any assurance, although I hope that we may reach agreement on that basis.

Yours sincerly,

WAVELL

The fact, however, remains that he did make this representation to me and authorised me to do likewise to the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India-Muslim

League, both of which were induced to come to their decisions upon the faith of this representation.

The next important date is June 13, when I was called by the Viceroy, and, suddenly he presented a new formula for the composition of the Interim Government i.e. 5:5:3. I have already explained as to what transpired between him and me with regard to this revised formula.

But the Viceroy failed to negotiate an agreement with the Congress on this basis also and I was informed by his letter of the 15th June that the Cabinet Delegation and he would issue a statement on June 16 on the action they proposed to take. I reproduce, below in full-the Viceroy's letter of June 15.

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, dated June 15, 1946.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to inform you that after discussions with the Congress representatives I have failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of an Interim Government on the basis which I suggested to you.

The Cabinet Delegation and my-self have, therefore, decided to issue tomorrow a Statement on the action we propose to take; and we will let you have a copy of this before publication.

Yours sincerely,

WAVELL

Their final proposals were embodied in their Statement of 16th June and now they have gone back on these proposals also by postponing the formation of the Interim Government indefinitely.

Fantastic Interpretation

As regards my interview on the evening of June 25 at 5.30 p.m., where I was suddenly called by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, a fantastic interpretation was suggested on the statement of June 16, in the course of our talk and I was asked to give my opinion; and I emphatically differed from them.

It was agreed that they will communicate in writing to me finally their views and the action they proposed to take. The Viceroy then sent me his letter dated, June 25, which reached me, as I have already stated, at midnight after the Resolution of the Working Committee was passed and released to the Press.

If, as it is now sought to make out that, they had already come to their final decision as to the course they were going to adopt, why was the decision not communicated to me by the Viceroy earlier in the day as they had received the Congress reply before mid-day on June 25 instead of calling me for discussion as to the correct interpretation or true construction of Paragraph 8 in the Statement of June 16, and then informing me that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy will communicate with me as to what they proposed to do.

I give below the full text of the Viceroy's letter of June 25 referred to above, my reply to this letter, dated June 26 and the Viceroy's reply to it dated June 27, conveying to me his intention to form a termporary caretaker Government till the re-opening of negotiations "after the elections to the Constiuent Assembly have been completed."

Letter from H.E the Viceroy dated June 25:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You asked for a letter in confirmation of what the Delegation said to you this evening.

We informed you that the Congress had accepted Statement of May 16 while refusing to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the Statement of June 16.

This has produced a situation in which paragraph 8 of the Statement of June 16, takes effect. This paragraph said that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in the Statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government "which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16."

Since the Congress and the Muslim League have now both accepted the Statement of May 16, it is the intention to form Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible. In view, however, of the long negotiations which have already taken place, and since we all have other work to do, we feel that it will be better to have short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government.

This, therefore, is the course of action we propose to adopt, unless the two main parties can within the next few days agree upon a basis on which they can co-operate in a Coalition Government.

Meanwhile the election and summoning of a Constituent Assembly as laid down in the Statement of May 16 are going forward.

Yours sincerely,

Wavell,

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to His Excellency the Viceroy dated June 26.

Dear Lord Wavell.

I received your letter dated June 25 at midnight last night after I had sent you the Resolution of my Working Committee passed at its meeting yesterday with a covering letter of the same date, agreeing to join the Interim Government on the basis of the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated June 16, and the clarifications and assurances given by you after consultation with the Cabinet Delegation in your letter dated June 20, addressed to me.

I regret that the Congress, while accepting the statement of May 16, should have rejected the proposals regarding the setting up of the Interim Government on the basis of the statement of June 16, which was the final decision of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself in this regard.

May I draw your attention to paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16, which clearly lays down that the acceptance of the statement of May 16, and rejection of the final proposals embodied in the statement of June 16, cannot change the basis and principles laid down therein?

In paragraph 3 of your letter, when you say that the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of an Interim Government, "which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16, the quotation qualifies them to be included in the Interim Government but, only on the basis of and the principles laid down in proposals of June 16.

In these circumstances as indicated in the statement of June 16, paragraph 7, that you aimed inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26. I hope you will not now delay the

matter but go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of your statement of June 16.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy dated June 27.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday. I am sorry that my letter did not reach you till after the meeting of your Working Committee had ended.

As we explained to you during our interview on Tuesday, the Cabinet Mission and I consider that in the light of paragraph 8 of the Statement of June 16, I am clearly bound to make an attempt to form a Government representative of both the major parties, since both have accepted the statement of May 16.

I think you will agree that it is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations and as we informed you, it is proposed to set up a temporary caretaker Government of officials. I intend reopening negotiations after the elections to the Constiuent Assembly have been completed. Meanwhile the Cabinet Mission will return home to report.

Yours sincerely,

WAVELL

As regards my request for the postponement of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, my reply to the two letters of the Viceroy of June 28, has not been included in the published letters. I therefore think that I must, in fairness release my letter of June 28, in reply to the Viceroy's letter of June 27, reproduced above, and also my reply dated June 28, to

the two letters of the Viceroy of same date released to the Press yesterday. The following is the text of the two letters.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah dated June 28, to H. E. the Viceroy in reply to the letter dated June 27.

Dear Lord Wavell.

I am in receipt of your letter of June 27, 1946.

I had already pointed out to you by my letter of June 26, in reply to yours of June 25, and also, at the interview on Tuesday June 25, with you and the Cabinet Delegation that you were in honour bound to proceed forthwith with the formation of your Interim Government in accordance with the Statement of June 16, which was final, and the assurances given to us.

The Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued an official Statement late in the evening of June 26, and as I have already pointed out in my Statement issued to the Press yesterday, by that pronouncement you have chosen to go back upon your pledged word by postponing the formation of the Interim Government.

Now I have received your letter of June 27, and hereby inform you that I cannot agree with you when you say in your letter that "It is essential to have a short interval before resuming negotiations." I repeat that you should have proceeded in terms of the paragraph 8 of the Statement of June 16, without delay.

But since you have adopted this course of action in the official Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, which is neither fair nor just, I strongly urge upon you wihtout prejudice, that the elections to the Constituent Assembly should also be postponed as, you know, that according to all the relevant documents and particularly the two Statements of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated May 16 and 25, the long-term

plan and the formation of the Interim Government formed one whole each constituting an integral part of the whole scheme.

It is, therefore, undesirable to proceed with one part, i.e., elections to the Constituent Assembly and to postpone the other.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah dated June 28 to H.E. the Viceroy in reply to his two letters of June 28, released to the Press on Friday.

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of June 28. The facts are correctly stated in my statement that was released to the Press on June 27.

The explanation that you now give in your letter under reply of what took place between me and the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, does not change in any way the position. The fact is that you did not communicate to me your views officially before the meeting of the Working Committee.

I requested you to send your views officially to me and you did so by your letter of June 25, which reached me at midnight after the Working Committee had passed their Resolution which was released to the Press according to the solemn arrangement that we were to give our reply immediately after the decision of the Congress.

If you wish to take the credit that some indication was given to me of the change on your part in the course of the interview, where we discussed so many things, you may do so.

As regards paragraph 2 of your letter I am surprised when you say that the assurances quoted by me from your letter in my Statement were given "if both the major parties had accepted the Statement of June 16".

No such indication of any condition is given in your letter of June 20, which I understand from your Private Secretary has already been released to the Press together with some other correspondence. May I request you to release this letter also?

I have received a second letter from you dated June 28. May I also request you to publish the full text of my letter of June 28, asking you to postpone the Constituent Assembly elections—and not only a substance of it which might have appeared in the All-India Radio broadcast—as you propose to release your reply to the Press.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

I maintain that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their word within ten days of the publication of their final proposals in not implementing the Statement of June 16, and I fully endorse what has been put so well—"Statesmen should not eat their words."

QAP-F-14/pp.63-68, F-132/p.1 and The Dawn, June 30, 1946.

887

Statement rejecting all appeals filed against the decisions of the Central Parliamentary Board, New Delhi, July 8, 1946.

"According to the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed on the 9th of June 1946 the power is given to the Central Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League to select candidates for the constitution making bodies in consultation with the Presidents of the Provincial Muslim Leagues and the Leaders of the Muslim

League Parliamentary Parties in various Provinces subject to such modifications by the President of the All-India Muslim League as may be considered proper by him.

"It is, therefore, clear that I have no power to review, revise or hear appeals against the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board and the only power that is given to me is to modify the selection of candidates made by the Board provided there is serious objection to any individual so selected or any omission of the name of any outstanding person or persons whose services and qualifications will make it impelling necessity for me to find a place for him or them in the list of candidates for the Constituent Assembly.

"I am unable to come to this conclusion in the case of those who have approached me in writing or personally. The power given to me of making modifications in the selections made by the Central Parliamentary Board is not to be lightly used except in the case of gross miscarriage of justice or if it is really necessary in the interest of the Muslim League.

"Therefore the list of names selected by the Central Parliamentary Board is now final and I trust that every Muslim Leaguer will loyally abide by it and act accordingly.

The Dawn, July 9, 1946.

888

Interview on his arrival at Hyderabad (Dn.), Hyderabad, July 8, 1946.

"At this moment statemanship demands that Hyderabad should face not only internal issues affecting Hyderabad itself but the All-India developments taking place with harmony and co-operation amongst all communities in Hyderabad" declared Mr. M.A.Jinnah in an interview to the Associated Press of India soon after his arrival in Hyderabad.

Mr. Jinnah said: "I am most thankful to all people of Hyderabad who gave me such reception on my arrival at the aerodrome and all along the routes. I also thank the Musalmans for their most enthusiastic and cordial reception given to me on my arrival. I urge upon the Musalmans to remain as one united people.

"Unity amongst ourselves and goodwill to other communities are most essential. You know we are going through very critical times and facing issues of life and death.

Asked about the object of his visit, Mr. Jinnah said that he was in Hyderabad in response to a longstanding invitation from H.E.H. the Nizam. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 9, 1946.

889

Speech at a Public meeting, Hyderabad, July 11, 1946.

"The creed of every organisation is responsible government but the conditions differ in every place. Constitutions cannot be made on a mass scale. Are England, France, America and Russia or any other two countries having the same constitutions? So also every Indian State has a right to have its own constitution. Conditions in Hyderabad and Kashmir differ very much. Even their histories and traditions are vastly different. Students of history will agree with me?", said Mr. M.A. Jinnah, while addressing a mammoth gathering of more than 1,00,000 Muslims.

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said: "though the Muslims in Hyderabad are only 25,00,000 and in a minority but by their quality, spirit, perseverance and faith, they can play an important and wonderful part in the dominions of Hyderabad."

He assured the Hyderabad Muslims of his full support and observed that the Muslims wherever they be are brothers to each other and it is their duty to help other Muslims.

Speaking about the Quit-Kashmir Movement, Mr. Jinnah said: "The Muslim Conference declared its policy of responsible Government and never supported the idea of wiping off the Ruler. The movement there was only a revolt sponsored by certain sections of Kashmir people."

He advised the Hyderabad Muslims to remain united and be careful about choosing leaders. "Half the battle is won if a proper leader is selected", he added.

Turning to the British Indian Politics, Mr. Jinnah said that was different from Indian States Politics and related the history of the Muslim League's struggle during the last five years.

He said that the League had organised the Indian Musalmans and brought them under one banner within a short period of five years.

A Miracle

"Some consider it a miracle. To some it is true. But the real fact is that Islamic brotherhood, fraternity and equality brought about unity among the Indian Muslims. "We want to live a life of freedom and honour according to the principles of Islam and for that alone we want Pakistan".

"We do not want to harm the interests of the other nations in India. Let them also live a free life and bring in practice their own principles in places where they are in a majority but they have no right to rule over and suppress others."

"We cannot tolerate to remain slaves of Hindus. Today a fight is going on between the Muslims and the Hindus in the political field. We shall see who wins."

Again coming to Hyderabad affairs, Mr. Jinnah said: "You are facing an unprecedented situation; so organise yourself. You cannot achieve anything unless you pull yourselves up together as one solid, united body and walk forward with perseverance and firm faith. You are called upon to deal with realities. You are not required to have academic discussions."

Work Sincerely

He advised the Muslim Leaguers of Hyderabad to work sincerely and honestly for the best interest of the Muslims. He advised the Majlis to form a Parliamentary Board to select candidates for the impending elections, impartially.

He claimed that the advice he had tendered to H. E. H. the Nizam, the Executive Councillors and the leaders of Hyderabad was in the best interest of all communities in the State. No harm would be done to the Hindus, the Depressed Classes or the Christians" Mr. Jinnah concluded.

The Dawn, July 13, 1946.

890

Interview to the Associated Press of India on the statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Hyderabad, July 13, 1946.

"It is for the British Parliament and His Majesty's Government to make it clear beyond doubt and remove the impression that the Congress has accepted the long term scheme of the Cabinet Delegation which is sought to be conveyed abroad by the timid efforts of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy," said Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview to the Associated Press of India on the statement

made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at his recent Press conference in Bombay.

Mr. Jinnah says: "It has been clear from the outset to those who understood from the letter of the President of the Congress of June 25, addressed to the Viceroy and the resolution of the Congress Working Committee that followed it next day, rejecting the Interim Government proposals contained in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and Viceroy, dated June 16, that the so-called acceptance by the Congress only of long-term plan of May 16, was never intended to honour its terms and obligations with the desire to carry out the scheme in the spirit of constructive and friendly co-operation.

"It ended with covert threat that the successful working of the Constituent Assembly will depend upon the formation of a satisfactory provisional Interim Government. After that they themselves had wrecked the final proposals put forward by the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy in their statement of June 16.

"In their resolution they make reservations and put fantastic interpretations upon the fundamentals of long term plan and finally they make it clear that they were only going to prevent other people, whom they consider undesirable, from getting into the Constituent Assembly and seek elections to wreck the long-term plan also.

They are going into the Constituent Assembly as has now been so frankly and clearly defined by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on his assumption of office as the President of the Congress to achieve their objective.

He has also made it quite clear that they are not going to honour any of the terms of the long-term plan and that they are only entering to put it shortly to use it as platform for their propaganda in utter disregard of rights and obligations of those agreeing and who are in honour bound to fulfill or abide by it.

This is simply becasue they have secured a brute majority of 292 against 79 Muslims in the Constitutent Assembly.

"What Pandit Nehru says while referring to the correspondence that passed between the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy and the Congress and of their final decision of June 2526 is: "You will see on what conditions and circumstances we agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly. We have agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly and we have agreed to nothing else."

Mr. Jinnah adds: "This is complete repudiation of the basic form upon which the long-term scheme rests and all its fundamentals and terms and obligations and rights of parties accepting the scheme.

"I understand that there is going to be a debate in the British Parliament very soon on the report of the Cabinet delegation and it is for the British Parliament and His Majesty's Government to make it clear beyond doubt and remove the impression that the Congress has accepted the long-term scheme which is sought to be conveyed abroad by the timid efforts of the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy, who throughout these negotiations suffered from a fear complex and constant threats of the Congress of resorting to civil disobedience, which is now repeated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his present statement to the Press conference and further, in their undue anxiety to secure success of their Mission at any cost and the sacrifice of every body else.

In spite of knowing well the true situation and the intentions of Congress the Mission have tried to treat the decision of the Congress as acceptance by the Party, with real spirit of constructive co-operation to reform their obligations as honourable organisation, according to spirit and letter of the long term scheme.

"We shall have to consider the situation when the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League will meet on July 26, 27 and 28 and adopt such action as we may think proper in the circumstances that have arisen."

The Dawn, July 15, 1946.

891

Speech at a Public Meeting, Secunderabad, (Hyderabad), July 13, 1946.

Muslim League is a power today ready to face any eventuality. Even our enemies acknowledged it. World acknowledges it. Muslim League views are ringing all over the world", thus Mr. M.A.Jinnah began his speech, while addressing a mammoth public meeting at Secunderabad.

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah observed: "The world's justice and fairplay sound very well, but what is actually happening in the world, there is no fairplay and no friendship. When you yourself are strong enough to stand on your own legs then you will have friends more than actually you need. If not, the consequences are serious. It is the power-politics today without which you cannot get on."

Mr. Jinnah advised the Muslim Youth to concentrate their attention on two things, one right kind of education and the other improvement of economic condition. He added: "Without knowledge there is complete darkness and without economic improvement there is stravation and death. Think now of something else than Law, Medicine and Government service. Divert your attention towards commerce and industries."

He continued: "Musalmans have got all virtues but have failed to utilize them. If you utilize them you will be doing service to yourself and to the entire community."

Describing the condition of Hindus and Muslims in India Mr. Jinnah said, "Hindus and Muslims are tortoise and hare. Hindus are tortoise and Muslims like hare: but the hare who has awakened just in time. Muslims achieved their goal within a short period while Hindu tortoise is moving systematically, perservingly and industrially. Muslims hare looks at them with contempt."

Yet To Learn

Advising the Muslims in general Mr. Jinnah concluded: "You have yet to learn the first lesson which makes a nation. Each individual member should be ready without hesitation to make sacrifice for the collective good."

Mr. Jinnah exhorted the Muslims of Hyderabad to get united and play that wonderful role which is befitting their past history and tradition. He wanted them to shake off sentiments and face realities. He warned them the danger ahead and said: "Let us hope for the best and let us as well be prepared for the worst". (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 15, 1946.

892

Speech in reply to the Address presented by Muslim Merchants of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, Hyderabad, July 14, 1946.

The importance of commerce and industry in the present day world was emphasised by Mr. Jinnah while replying to an address, presented by Muslim merchants of Hyderabad and Secunderabad at "Darussalam".

Speaking about the progress made by the Musalmans in the economic field during the last six years, Mr. Jinnah said that he found great improvement in that respect and that now every

British Indian province has a Muslim Chamber of Commerce while there is one All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, recognised by the Government of India. He opined that without economic power no progress was possible.

Speaking about the functions of a modern Government Mr. Jinnah said that old ideas had changed. Formerly it was considered that the only duty of the Government is to protect the life and property of its subjects. But in modern times it is the bounden and sacred duty of every Government to have a hand in every department of life. Without Government's aid it is not possible to progress.

He gave an example of compulsory education which he said was impossible to be introduced by any other institution than the Government. Every civilised country has resorted to compulsory education. Economic progress cannot be made without planning by the Government. Similarly the problems of social uplift cannot be carried on satisfactorily if the Government does not take interest in it," he said.

Referring to the conditions in Hyderabad, Mr. Jinnah said that Hyderabad was economically backward and that it was still moving in an old world. Hyderabad cannot stand still in the changing world. You are confronted with the revolutionary changes in the Provinces around you. You must be prepared to face them and I want Musalmans of Hyderabad to play an important part in their State economic life,", he concluded. (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 16, 1946.

893

Advice to the President and Members of the Post and Telegraphs Employees Union, Bombay, July 17, 1946.

Mr. Dalvi, the President, accompanied by several members of the Post and Telegraphs Employees Union had an interview with Mr. Jinnah and after hearing them Mr. Jinnah requested them to let him have a short Memorandum of facts to enable him to examine the legitimate grievances of postal employees and to see how far the Government had met them and in what respects the Government had not satisfied their grievances which would justify their resorting to a strike.

Mr. Jinnah was unable to express any opinion in the matter until full information was furnished to him. He generally expressed his sympathy for the legitimate grievances and demands of the Union.

QAP-F-1022/p.97.

894

Statement regarding matters concerning the position of the Indians in Ceylon, Bombay, July 17, 1946.

Messrs. A. Aziz and S.Y. Thillingham, members of the Ceylon Indian Congress delegation met Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, this morning and put before him the Ceylon Indian point of view vis-a-vis the Soulburry Commission Report. Mr. Jinnah said that he had not studied the report of the commission but generally he assured them of the support of the All-India Muslim League in their getting adequate safeguards and protections as they cannot do otherwise and remain as a minority. "I certainly wish Singhalese

to get their complete freedom and at the same time I hope that they will give a fair deal to those who are in a minority in Ceylon," added Mr. Jinnah. He wished the delegation every success.

QAP-F-1022/p.172

895

Speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Bombay, July 27, 1946.

"I feel the time has come for the Muslim League—and I have been saying so—that our motto should be discipline, unity and trust in the power of our own nation. If there is not sufficient power, creat that power. If we do that the Mission and the British Government may be rescued, released and freed from being cowed by the threats of the Congress that they would launch a struggle and start non-cooperation. Let us also say that we will also do that.

"All efforts of the Muslim League at fairplay, justice, even supplication and prayers have had no response of any kind from the Congress. The Cabinet Mission have played into the hands of the Congress. It has played a game of its own.

"I tell you the Congress has done the greatest harm to the peoples of India in which the caste Hindus are in an overwhelming majority by its pretty fogging, higgling attitude during the recent constitutional negotiations. The Congress is full of spite towards the Muslims.

"The Congress has now taken India back forty years by enabling a completely bureaucratic and autocratic government to be set up at Delhi.

The Congress thinks that it is going to walk into the Interim Government and bypass the Muslim League. It is welcome to go there. We are not frightened by that and we know how to deal with that. They are talking through their hats when they talk of turning the Constituent Assembly into a sovereign body — the Constituent Assembly that is being summoned by the Viceroy appointed by the British Government. It is going to be turned into a sovereign body by the bravado and the childish statements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru?

Grave Issues

"The Council had been summoned to consider certain issues of grave importance. You have to finally decide what course of action the Muslim League should adopt with regard to the Constituent Assembly as embodied in the Statements of May 16 and 25 of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

"The Congress had accepted the long-term proposals with their own reservation and interpretation, notwithstanding the authoritative Statement that was made by the Cabinet Mission on May 25.

Quoting extracts from the Congress President's letter of June 25 to the Cabinet Mission and the Congress Working Committee's resolution of June 26, Mr. Jinnah said the Congress acceptance was conditional.

"Any man of commonsense can come to one conclusion only, leave alone these great politicians. It is surprising that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy should consider this decision as acceptance. Throughout these negotiations the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy were under terror and threats of the Congress.

Mission Eats Its Word

"The second thing the Council of the Muslim League has to consider was what steps should be taken by the Muslim League in view of the attitude adopted by the Cabinet Delegation

and the Viceroy in regard to the Interim Government. They have gone back on their plighted word* and abandoned what was announced as their final proposals embodied in their Statement of June 16.

"The Congress really never accepted the long-term plan. Its conditional acceptance was communicated to the Cabinet Mission by the Congress President on June 25 and was subsequently ratified by the A.I.C.C. at its meeting in Bombay on July 7.

"The Cabinet Mission like a drowning man ready to catch hold of a straw treated this conditional acceptance of the Congress as genuine acceptance. Not only did they try to propagate this view in this country, but during the debate in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords both Lord Pethick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps created the impression that the Congress had accepted the long-term proposal.

Congress Attitude

"The impression is not based on facts. The Congress Working Committee's resolution was bad enough, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the elected President, having taken charge of his office, at a Press conference in Bombay on July 10, made the policy and attitude of the Congress towards the long-term proposal clear. In that interview Pandit Jawaharlal made it quite clear that the Congress was committed to nothing and they were not bound by either paragraph 15 or paragraph 19 of the State Paper.

***The Plighted Words**

"In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an interim government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16."

Not A Sovereign Body

"The Constitutent Assembly is not a sovereign body. Either we accept it or not accept it. Once we accept it then the only honourable course open to my party is to treat the Constituent Assembly really what it is. What is the use of imagining things and dreaming.

Pandit Nehru had stated that the Congress was not bound by paragraph 19 of the State Paper which regulates grouping and which also regulates the functions of the Constituent Assembly. The essential part of the scheme, from the Muslim League point of view, is grouping B and C and it is that part of the scheme which has been unequivocally repudiated by the Congress which assertes that provinces in Groups B and C are free to opt out from the very beginning and not, as is provided, until the group constitution and provincial constitutions are framed and elections are held under the new provincial constitutions.

Brute Majority

"Because the Congress had had a brute majority in the whole constituent assembly it was hoping to take any decision it liked with its majority, ignoring, nullifying and repudiating every term of the scheme and act in a manner which would not be competent of the constituent assembly and which would be '*ultra vires*' of the functions of that body.

"The Congress poisition in a nutshell was: 'We are committed to nothing and we are going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve our objective and according to our sweet will we will do what we like on the basis of the interpretation which we have already announced to the world.' This has created a new situation necessitating the summoning of the League Council.

Debate In Lords

Mr. Jinnah referred to the Secretary of State's speech in the Lord's debate when he declared that the Indian parties could not go outside the terms of what had been agreed to as that would not be fair to other parties and said:

"Beyond this pious expression there is no effective check or remedy provided in the event of the Congress, which happens to have a brute majority in the Constituent Assembly, taking any decision which is 'ultra vires' and incompetent of that Assembly.

"The Mission knew it. It was made clear to them that the Congress acceptance was with reservation and with their own interpretation on some of the fundamentals of the scheme. Both Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and myself had made this clear in our statements. The British Government was in possession of these details before the debate took place.

"And yet Lord Pethick-Lawrence had contented himself with the pious expression of hope. Does this show any sense of responsibility or understanding on the part of the Cabinet Mission who spent here three-and-a-half months.

Nehru Sticks To His Guns

"Further, Pandit Nehru, at a mass meeting at Delhi on July 23, said that if they cannot mend the Constitutent Assembly they would end it. When some papers attributed the Pandit's statements to his emotional and sentimental feelings, Pandit Jawaharlal asserted, repeated and reaffirmed that he had said it deliberately and with a full sense of his responsibility. He made it clear that the Congress would pursue that line and, if necessary, kill the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah characterised Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement in the Lords that he had faith and hope in the Indian

people doing the right thing as 'most unconvincing optimism' in view of the Congress stand.

"I feel we have exhausted all reasons. It is no use looking to any other source for help or assistance. There is no tribunal to which we can go. The only tribunal is the Muslim Nation.

"It is no consolation to me that Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps have acknowledged that we made very substantial and vital concessions whereas the Congress has not budged an inch. I wish I could honestly pay a tribute to their courage and statemanship which they so sadly lacked in handling these negotiations. Nor have I seen any sign of the slightest gesture of goodwill or conciliation or any indication of co-operation on the part of the Congress.

Congress Stood Like A Mule

"I am confident the Muslims of India are not going to be perturbed, nor are we going to suffer from any sense of frustration. I can tell you this without fear of contradiction that of the three parties, the Muslim League acted throughout the negotiations as an honourable organisation.

"We negotiated on high principles. We made concession after concession, not because we were overawed. We did so purely because of our extreme anxiety for an amicable and peaceful settlement which will lead not only the Muslims and the Hindus but also other communities inhabiting this subcontinent to the achievement of freedom. But the Congress stood there like a mule. It has no other consideration except the one, namely, how to down the Muslim League. (Shame)

Clean League Hands

"We worked with clean hands. The Muslim League is the only party that has emerged from these negotiations with honour and clean hands. The Mission went back on their words with regard to the Interim Government. The Mission today is

cowed down and paralysed. The Congress has resorted to methods that even an ordinary individual will be ashamed of.

"Have you (Congress) not got the decency and have you not got any sense of honour and courage to say that you cannot accept the proposals because it is opposed to your fundamental principles and your objectives?

Demanding a categorical reply from the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah asserted that on the night of June 24 the Congress Working Committee had rejected both the long-term and short-term proposals.

"Early in the morning of June 25, the indefatigable Sir Stafford Cripps went and worked up Mr. Gandhi in the Bhangi Colony. It seems he did not cut much ice. He came back and Lord Pethick-Lawrence was put on the scent of Mr. Vallabbhai Patel, the strong man of the Congress.

A Device Concocted

"He waylaid Mr. Patel on the road and took him to his house and there they concocted a device. The Congress was persuaded to accept the long-term proposal even with their own interpretations and reservations and the Mission assured the Congress that it would abandon the Interim Government Scheme of June 16. It is again like a drowning man catching at a straw. They wanted, somehow or other, to say that their mission was not a complete failure.

"This is exactly what happened. Now I ask the Viceroy to issue a statement giving a categorical explanation on this point. This is a grave charge against the honour, integrity and character of the members of Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

Pakistan—The Only Solution

"All these prove clearly, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the only solution of India's problem is Pakistan. So long as the Congress and Mr. Gandhi maintain that they represent the

whole of India and so long as the Congress waste their money to no purpose but to creat disruption among the Muslims and encourage men who have no sense of honour and morality by bribery, corruption and jobbery, so long as they deny true facts and the absolute truth that the Muslim League is the only authoritative organization of the Muslims and so long as they continue in this vicious circle there can and will be no compromise or settlement of freedom.

"It was a 'bogus claim' of the Congress that it represented the whole of Inida. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly out of 79 seats for Muslims, the Congress had secured only three. The candidate from the United Provinces stood from three Muslim constituencies in the provincial elections and he was kicked out everywhere.

"Mr. Gandhi now speaks as a universal adviser. He says that the Congress represents the whole of India and that the Congress is the trustee for the people of India. It is an alarming status he wants. We have enough experience of one trustee that has been here for 150 years. We do not want the Congress to become our trustee. We have now grown up. (Laughter). The only trustee of the Muslims is the Muslim nation.

Harijans Betrayed

"Gandhi is the self-appointed trustee of the Harijans. Does he honestly believe that the Harijans have confidence in him? The Harijans are a blot on any civilised community. Sixty millions of them who have been tied down by social and economic tyranny for centuries have been living in a miserable condition. What has Mr. Gandhi done to them since he assumed charge of the welfare of the Harijans? The Scheduled Castes are now offering satyagraha and going to jail. People do not and will not take to this extreme measure unless there is strong feeling and strong grievance. The Mission have betrayed the Harijans in order to appease the goddess of the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to explain in detail the negotiations regarding to setting up of an interim government and said:

"It is entirely untrue that I submitted any list on behalf of the Muslim League. On the contrary, I definitely said that I was not prepared to submit any list until I knew that there was an agreed settlement and if there was no agreed settlement, the Viceroy was bound to go ahead with one major party that accepted it and that I will submit my list at that stage.

"The Viceroy had no business to put my name when I had clearly made it known to him, in spite of his trying to persuade me, that I will not accept any office so long as I am the President of the Muslim League.

Cripps' Jugglery Of Words

"Immediately the Congress gave its reply, we gave our reply. Now we are told that clause 8 means something which it does not mean. Here I must say that Sir Stafford Cripps, when he was questioned in the House of Commons, found it very difficult to wriggle out of it and he resorted to jugglery of words and misleading the House.

"I am sorry to say that Cripps debased his legal talents and put his dishonest interpretation on this clause. He overpowered the venerable and idealistic Secretary of State.

"Too much prominence had been given to the interview I had with the Mission on June 25. The Viceroy received the Congress reply at about 11 or 12 noon that day. It had not been stated anywhere that we were time-barred in accepting the proposal. It was not stated that the offer had been withdrawn. Of course, they would have been entitled to withdraw the offer, had both the parties not accepted the offer.

"A fantastic and dishonest construction was put on the clause by that "ingenuous juggler of words, Cripps" to evade the

formation of the Interim Government. It was only Mr. Alexander who intervened in the interview and said that the Mission had not arrived at any decision and that they wanted to know my views.

Mr. Jinnah criticised Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement that he (Mr. Jinnah) could not have 'monopoly of Muslim nomination.' "I am not a trader," Mr. Jinnah said. "I am not asking for concessions for oil nor am I higgling and haggling like a *Banya*. Is it not absurd for the Secretary of State for India to come out with this phraseology that Mr. Jinnah cannot claim monopoly. Are the Muslims a commodity?"

Mr. Jinnah maintained that right from the beginning he had objected to the inclusion of 'Quisling Muslims' in the Interim Government. The Viceroy himself had, in his letter to the Congress President on June 22, stated that he would not have any non-League Muslim. If he (Mr. Jinnah) had that monopoly then, he asked, did he lose it after two days. The reason was that the Congress did not accept it.

"I think the Congress had acted throughout in a petty manner and their objective was to discredit and humiliate the Muslim League. If the Congress was really a national body representing the whole of India then why should it bestow its attention only on the Muslims and not on other communities?

Pledge Broken Within 10 Days

Amplifying his remarks on the part played by the Cabinet Mission, Mr. Jinnah said: "The British Government have undoubtedly gone back on their words. They have played into the hands of the Congress. They have tried to propitiate the goddess of the Congress and postpone the formation of the Interim Government. They have accepted what is no acceptance at all on the part of the Congress of the long-term proposal.

Can they conscientiously say from the way in which they conducted the negotiations here that they are entitled to expect

from Muslim India faith in the Cabinet Mission or the British Government that has endorsed this statement.

When representatives of H.M.G. go back on their own words within ten days and dishonour themselves and the Government they represent and the nation to whom they belong what confidence can we have in these people? (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 28, 1946.

896

Speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Bombay, July 28, 1946.

Discussion on what attitude the Muslim League should adopt in view of "new situation that has been created" was continued at the resumed session of the All-India Muslim League Council.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan from Bengal warned the Council against rushing into taking any precipitate action. He urged the Council to empower the League President Mr. Jinnah to adopt such steps as he thought were necessary.

Mr. Jinnah, intervening, said that he wanted the Council to take the responsibility for any future action.

Mr. Jinnah said that while he appreciated the high esteem and confidence placed in him, he would like the Council to decide the future course of action.

"Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's suggestion shifts your responsibility on to my shoulders. I want you to take your own decision after ascertaining all the facts, which I have placed before you," he said.

Betrayal of Muslim Nation

"It is true the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have betrayed the Muslim nation. We accepted their proposals as a whole both long-term and short-term. But since they have scrapped the interim proposals, you have to decide what we should now do, for the proposals are inter-dependent and inseparable."

"Of the three parties to the proposals, the Delegation and the Viceroy have scrapped the interim proposals. The Congress, one of the two major parties, has accepted it conditionally, which is no acceptance at all. What security is there for the League to go into the Constituent Assembly when the other major party has not accepted it and the third party scraps a vital part of the proposals and say; "We have faith, hope and confidence in the Indians doing the right thing?"

"I am not prepared to accept responsibility for any decision as to the future, unless you force it down my throat. It is your bounden duty to decide what we should now do, for you are the Parliament of the Muslim nation. The President and the Working Committee will carry out any policy laid down by you."

The Dawn, July 29, 1946.

897

Speech at the conclusion of the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Bombay, July 29, 1946.

"What we have done today is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything, except by constitutional methods and by constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid good-bye to constitutional methods.

"Throughout the fateful negotiations with the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the other two parties, the British and the Congress, held a pistol in their hand, the one of authority and arms and the other of mass struggle and non-co-operation. Today, we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it.

"The decision to reject the proposals and to launch direct action had not been taken in haste, but it was taken with full sense of the responsibility and all deliberations that was humanly possible.

"We mean it and release every word of it. We do not believe in equivocation.

Flagrant Breach of Faith

"The Congress had accepted their proposals conditionally, and the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy had committed a flagrant breach of faith. Any honest or self-respecting man could see clearly that the only party which came out honourably from the negotiations was the Muslim League. When the League accepted their proposals they did it deliberately and with full responsibility, and they accepted the statement of May 16, the statement of May 25 and the original formula for the Interim Government.

"I think that if there is any man who has got any self-respect or honesty or any sense of fairness and justice to himself, he would say that the Muslim League was moved by higher and greater considerations than any other party in India.

"The League, throughout the negotiations, was moved by a sense of fairplay and sacrificed the full sovereign state of Pakistan at the alter of the Congress for securing the independence of the whole of India. They voluntarily delegated three subjects to the Union, and by doing so did not commit a mistake. It was the highest order of statesmanship that the League displayed by making concession.

League Anxiety For Peace

"I do not think that any responsible man will disagree with me that we were moved by a desire not to allow the situation to develop into bloodshed and civil war. This situation should be avoided if possible. In our anxiety to try to come to a peaceful settlement with the other major party, we made this sacrifice of giving three subjects to the Centre and accepted a limited Pakistan. We offered this unequivocal sacrifice at the alter of the Congress.

"But this has been treated with defiance and contempt. Then, are we alone to be guided by reason, justice, honesty and fairplay, when on the other hand there are perfidious dealings by the Congress?

"There was no sign or the slightest gesture of compromise from them. But honour, honesty, statesmanship, justice and fairplay always win in the long run, and I might say that today Muslim India—if there is still any doubt left—is stirred as never before and has never felt so bitterly as today, becaue these two parties (Congress and the British) showed lack of statesmanship. But now we realise that this has been for Muslim India the greatest blessing in disguise.

No Room For Compromise

"We have learnt a bitter lesson—the bitterest I think so far. Now there is no room left for compromise. Let us march on."

Mr. Jinnah then referred to Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement in the House of Lords that he could not agree to Mr. Jinnah having a monopoly over Muslim nominations.

"What made the Secretary of State in the responsible position that he holds, use such a stupid phrase? Has he got the monopoly of every Briton? On what authority does he speak on behalf of the British people having only 60 per cent of the people

behind his Government? We cannot agree to a Quisling Muslim being nominated by the Congress to the Executive Council.

"What did the British Government do with their own Quislings like John Amery and Lord Haw-Haw? Hanged them. Many other Englishmen who betrayed their country and became traitors have been hanged for treason. It is impossible for me to agree to a Quisling being nominated.

Intellectual Paralysis

"The Cabinet Mission had been 'intellectually paralysed' and their report to the Parliament was not even honest to themselves and was devoid not only of political ethics, but every manner of principle and morality."

The League President, raised his voice and concluded his speech by quoting Firdousi, the Persian poet, "If you seek peace, we do not want war, but if you want war, we will accept it unhesitatingly," and the quotation was drowned in vociferous shouting of League slogans and cheers.

[Immediately after Mr. Jinnah had finished, one after another top-ranking Muslim League leaders ascended the platform and announced the renunciation of their titles.]

The Dawn, July 30, 1946.

898

Interview given to United Press Correspondent, Bombay, July 30, 1946.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, demanded that all Anglo-American influence be withdrawn from Palestine as the first step towards a solution of the Palestine problem and urged that not only should Jewish immigration cease, but those Jews, already in Palestine should

emigrate to Australia, Canada, or anywhere else where is room for them or "one day their fate will be worse than it was under Hitler. It is quite clear that the Jews want to reconquer Palestine with the help of America and England.

"It is monstrous for Jews to be dumped into Palestine", he said in an exclusive interview with Ernest C. Marty, United Press staff correspondent. "Honesty demands immediate cessation of immigration. On that principle of immigration and under that plea, over half a million of them had already been allowed into Palestine which formed nearly one-third of the Arab population which no country would have or could have tolerated and there is no precedent for it.

He denounced the United States as having "no conscience or any regard for fairplay or justice" and said the U.S. Government was "absolutely led by the nose by America's Jewry. It is an amazing thing that the people of the United States should support the Jews when they themselves after decades of agitation have allowed to India a quota of 100 per year only recently."

Mr. Jinnah suggested an Anglo-American withdrawal from Palestine and let the Jews and the Arabs fight it out.

"Concerning the Muslim League's attitude towards Russia he said, the League does not regard Russia in anyway different from any other Power.

Explaining the Soviet support of the Indian revolutionary Hindu nationalists he said that "Russia's view are that Great Britain is generally fooling with subject people's independence and that Russia would egg on party or organisation, that is fighting Britain. The League does not at present come into picture, "he said. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 31, 1946.

899

Address to the Press Conference, Bombay, July 31, 1946.

"We have done our best and any further initiative now must come either from the British Government or from the Congress", declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing a Press Conference.

Mr. Jinnah was reviewing the decisions of the Council of the Muslim League. He made it clear in answer to a question that the decision of the Muslim League to resort to direct action is not a declaration of war against anybody. This resolution is nothing but a statement concerning the steps we propose to take for our own self preservation and self defence.

Mr. Jinnah declined to indicate what the Muslim League would do in hypothetical circumstances, remarking that the situation would be met as it arose. He also declined to indicate the exact nature of the direct action which the League proposed to take nor the steps the League Council of Action would take in that direction.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated his earlier declaration that the Congress acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's plan envisaged in the Mission's statement of May 16 was not real acceptance, as it was conditional and therefore amounted to rejection or at best a counter-offer.

Mr. Jinnah charged the Congress with making vigorous preparations for launching a struggle more fierce than the 1942 Struggle and said that instructions had gone out to Congressmen for this purpose. The help of the INA personnel was being sought to make the struggle effective.

While both the British Government and the Congress were armed in their own way, one with fire weapons and the other with threat of mass struggle the Muslim League felt it was

high time it also forged its own sanctions and got ready for a struggle to enforce its demand for Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah revealed that he had received a communication from the Viceroy, but declined to disclose the nature of it.

Mr. Jinnah said "We maintain that the Congress has not accepted the scheme embodied in the Statement of May 16 and it is quite clear from the letter of the President of the Congress of June 25 which is incorporated and endorsed in the resolution of the Working Committee at Delhi on June 26.

"That was confirmed by the AICC on July 7 and it was abundantly made clear by the speeches of the outgoing President and the incoming President and other foremost top-ranking Congress leaders.

"Therefore, we naturally thought that this is a somewhat serious situation. In the meantime Pandit Nehru after the conclusion of the deliberations of the AICC made it clear on July 10 that the Congress was committed to nothing. He said that the Congress was going into the Constituent Assembly to turn it into a Sovereign Assembly.

"Now the question is not as it is sometimes suggested that we are opposed to a Constituent Assembly. In fact, our demand has been that there should be two Sovereign Constituent Assemblies and for the obvious reason that if there is one Sovereign Constituent Assembly then it means the majority of the one nation would, with their overwhelming number of three to one impose their decisions upon the majority of the other nation".

Referring to the Long Term Plan Mr. Jinnah said: "We were not satisfied with it. In fact it was far more favourable to the Congress point of view than our point of view.

"The only question was whether to accept it or not. We accepted it. I repeat what I said before that we accepted it with the full knowledge and understanding without any kind of equivocation.

"Why did we do that? We made a tremendous sacrifice in accepting a limited Pakistan that is minus three subjects, viz., Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs.

"We were actuated by the welfare of every community inhabiting India and we felt that it will free us in the shortest possible time from foreign domination and also lead us all to the attainment and realisation of our independence. We understood perfectly well what we were doing. That was one vital consideration.

"The other consideration was that we thought even if we have to make a sacrifice, it is worth our while to do so to avoid strife, bloodshed, stalemates and deadlocks. We considered that an amicable and peaceful settlement was worth more and so we voluntarily and willingly delegated three subjects to the Union Centre.

"There is not the slightest doubt that after we did this the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy went back on their plighted word within 10 days with regard to their proposal embodied in their statement of June 16, which was announced to be final. They put the most fantastic and dishonest interpretation on Paragraph eight.

"I see now that they have discovered a new word, that the Proposals 'lapsed'. Why? Because not that we the Muslim League did not accept the Statement of June 16 in time, but because the Congress accepted the Statement of May 16, and rejected the statement of June 16.

"Paragraph eight of June 16 Statement sets forth only one of the terms. How on earth can you argue that although the

Muslim League accepted the Proposal within the time limit fixed the Proposals have lapsed."

"The question is what is the true interpretation of Clause eight? I maintain that the interpretation which the Mission put on it and still persist in is most fantastic and dishonest. I am not angered or peeved at all. But surely when one party has committed a breach of faith the other party has a right to indict it on this grave charge. If that is anger then I am angry".

Reiterating that the acceptance of the Congress of the Long-term Scheme was no acceptance but a counter-offer. Mr. Jinnah said, "I cannot believe that men of experience such as the members of the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy could have possibly believed that this was an acceptance.

"Let me tell you why they believed it. Because they were trying to catch at a straw and justify that at any rate to some extent their Mission succeeded and they have misled Parliament and the world."

The Mission had already shaken our confidence. We thought that they were overawed and cowed down and coerced by the threats of the Congress which they held out throughout the discussions, both inside and outside."

Congress Preparations

"The Congress has been and is organizing itself to launch a struggle of mass civil disobedience. Preparation are and have been going on in full swing. Indian National Army men are requisitioned, enrolled, financed and sent all over the country. Various other organisations have been set up and established.

"They are going through the necessary drills and physical training. In season and out of season everybody is informed that "if we are not allowed to achieve our objective we

are preparing ourselves to launch a struggle which will be a thousand times worse than the 1942 struggle."

"The Muslim League alone has scrupulously kept itself within the constitutional orbit and has been following constitutional methods, believing in constitutionalism. It is, therefore obvious that we sat at this conference and carried on negotiations with our hands and feet tied by constitutional methods and constitutionalism.

"We found that the British Delegation and the Viceroy and the British Government are under the spell of the sword of Democles hanging over their head that if the Congress is not appeased or satisfied it would launch a struggle which will be a thousand times worse than 1942.

"The question arises: "Are we the only party to sit as we sat until now, with our hands and feet tied".

The British have machine guns and can interpret what they say as they like. There is no tribunal to which you can appeal. They are the judges of what they say and act as they like.

"There is the other party, the Congress armed to the teeth with another kind of weapon which is not to be trifled with. We, therefore, are now forced for our self-defence and self-preservation to say good-bye to constitutional methods and we have decided now as part and parcel of our policy and programme to prepare and resort to direct action as and when the time may come to launch it."

State Paper

Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress had already put into effect its interpretation of the State Paper by directing the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly to adopt a resolution on the floor of the House that they would have nothing to do with grouping. This was a definite and concrete act

done by the Assam Assembly under the authority of the Congress High Command.

Mr. Jinnah recalled that the Secretary of State Lord Pethick-Lawrence in his broadcast on May 16 said that the Mission's Proposals made it possible to secure the advantages of Pakistan without incurring the dangers inherent in the division of India and invited Indians of all parties to take part in the framing of the Constitution.

The Muslim League also took the view that minus the three subjects, Group B and C constituted Pakistan they agree that the Union would confine strictly to those three subjects for ten years but Pandit Nehru has since then made it clear that the Congress is not bound to confine itself to those three subjects only and that it was free to enlarge the scope and powers of the union centre. Referring to Foreign Press reaction to the Muslim League's latest resolutions Mr. Jinnah said that he could not expect the British Press to say that the Mission was guilty of breach of faith. Naturally the comment was that the decision the League had taken was a grave one and so it was.

He thought that there was an incorrect appreciation of the real situation. When some papers talked of domocracy they forgot the realities in India. If India was a homogeneous country and one Nation then one could talk of democracy.

But India was a sub-continent comprising of nationalities which Lord Pethick-Lawrence admitted during the recent debate.

Mr. Jinnah said: "There are two major nations here. This is the root cause and essence of our troubles. When there are two major nations how can you talk of democracy which means that one nation majority will decide everything for the other nation although it may be unanimous in its opposition.

"If all the Muslims were to say. We do not agree to this even then the majority decision will be forced on the Muslims as they are three to one.

"If there is one nation then there is no trouble at all. These two nations cannot be judged by Western Democracy. But they should each be treated as equals and attempts should be made to solve the difficulties by acknowledging that fact. They should meet each other honestly and sincerely and try to come to some adjustment."

Mr. Jinnah declined to discuss the details of the proposed direct action. He said: "I am not prepared to tell you that now."

Asked if the Muslim League would join hands with other anti-Imperialist forces such as the Congress Mr. Jinnah said: "The Congress direct action has not been against the British. The direct action of the Congress on the various occasions it launched it and the last time in 1942, was to coerce and blackmail the British to bypass the Muslim League and surrender to the Congress demands. That is exactly what it is doing now and that is exactly what the Mission was overawed with. The Congress has asked the British to quit. How can it, with self-respect, accept an Interim Government which is going to be formed under the Act of 1919. It was willing to do that at Simla provided the League was kept down."

Questioned if the resolution adopted ruled out the scope for negotiations, Mr. Jinnah said: "What are the other nations doing? Armed to the teeth with atomic bombs, are they not going on talking and discussing. Are they not at the same time going on with preparations. Is not the Government of India going on today with preparations to put down any party they like? Why do you want me (the League) alone to sit with folded hands? I am also going to meet the situation as and when it arises."

Asked if the proposed direct action would be violent or non-violent Mr. Jinnah said, "I am not going to discuss ethics".

Q. Is this decision irrevocable?

Ans: If you are a politician you will not ask me this question.

To further questions Mr. Jinnah replied. "In the direct action we envisage we shall include any one who is willing to join us for the cause for which we may have to launch a struggle.

Q: Would you consider the possibility of making an approach to the Congress?

Ans: I have done my best and the initiative must now come either from the British Government or from the Congress?

Asked if he had any communication from the Viceroy relating to the formation of an Interim Government. Mr. Jinnah said that he had received a communication but he was told that it was entirely private. He declined to discuss the nature of the communication. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 1, 1946.

900

Statement regarding 'hartal' on Direct Action Day, Bombay, August 4, 1946.

Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League declared in an interview that the hartal called by the League for August 16, will be conducted "peacefully and in a disciplined manner"

The Muslim League Council ordered the hartal and called on Muslims to assemble in meetings throughout India on that day to receive explanations of resolutions, the Council adopted withdrawing acceptance of the Cabinet Mission

proposals for India's future and ordering "direct action" for Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah told the Associated Press of America:

In Disciplined Manner

"We asked the people to suspend only as a protest against the British Delegation having gone back on their word and thereby committed a breach of faith. But the day shall be observed peacefully and in a disciplined manner.

"I expect every Leaguer to carry out that intention and to act accordingly." (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, August 6, 1946.

901

Statement rejecting the proposal of arbitration as suggested by Sardar Patel, Bombay, August 4, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in an interview declared that the suggestion to refer the League's case to arbitration was unacceptable to him. The suggestion, it will be recalled, was made by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, speaking on the occasion of the Tilak anniversary celebrations.

The proposal, Mr. Jinnah said, was made to impress the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and so conciliatory but the Muslim League is intransigent. The Muslim demand for Pakistan was based on the right of self-determination and could not be a justifiable issue!

Mr. Jinnah reiterated that the Congress had rejected the long-term Proposals and that its acceptance was no acceptance at all.

Mr. Jinnah said: Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in a recent speech on the Congress Working Committee's resolution at Delhi on June 26 and the AICC at Bombay on July 7, to quote his words, said, "accepted the full responsibility of the declaration. The Working Committee's resolution said clearly that it accepted the declaration of May 16. It still stood by it. Certainly it had the right to interpret the document." This is misleading. The document embodied four main proposals.

Interim Government

"First, the declaration which alone, he says, the Congreress has accepted. The basic form and the grouping of the provinces in paragraph 19 of the document and the formation of the interim Government, have not been accepted by the Congress. And this is clear from the letter of the Congress President of June 25 whereas the Congress rejected the statement of June 16 regarding the interim Government and only accepted the statement of May 16 with reservations and with their own interpretations.

"This being a conditional acceptance was in fact and in law a rejection of the statement of May 16. The letter winds up by saying: "We also gave our interpretation to some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering to our views we accepted your proposals and are prepared to be working with a view to achieve our objective."

"The resolution of the Working Committee proceeds to lay down that there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central Government and for fully ensuring the right of provinces to act according to its choice in regard to Grouping.

Patel's Audacity

"Congress leaders have said at the AICC that they have not accepted the Long-term Plan of the Cabinet Mission as it was and that they have rejected the Short-term of June 16, and

now Mr. Patel has the audacity to say that the League has gone back on its pledged word.

"To whom did we pledge our word and to what had we pledged our word." One of the two major parties has not accepted the Long-term Plan and rejected the Short-term Plan and this was pointed out by me immediately by my Press Statements that I made at Delhi on June 27 and 29 and also by the resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee passed on June 26 accepting both.

"I had pointed out that the Congress had not accepted the Long-term Plan and rejected the interim Government proposal. The Cabinet Mission had scrapped the interim Government proposal and had gone back on their word. We, therefore decided to call a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council at Bombay on July 27 and 28 to consider and to meet the new situation that had arisen, to which Pandit Nehru retorted that the Congress would create many more new situations. In the meantime, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders, including Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel himself made it clear in their speeches and public utterances in Bombay that the Congress had not accepted the statement of May 16 or committed to anything.

"Further on July 10 Pandit Nehru, the Congress President made it crystal clear to a Press Conference and the Assam Assembly, in accordance with the instructions of the Congress High Command after having elected their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, gave them a definite mandate to have nothing to do with "C" Group from the very start, although there was a very strong opposition to this from the representatives of the minorities, including Muslims but it was carried by an overwhelming Congress majority.

Nehru's Assertion

"Further at a public meeting in Delhi on July 22 Pandit Nehru reiterated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective and to serve their purpose and if they failed they would kill it.

"This was after the debate that took place in Parliament on July 18. This left no doubt that the Congress was going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective as has been repeatedly stated in the letter and the resolution of the Congress.

It made its intentions clear that it was not bound by the grouping nor were they confined strictly to the basic form of the document and unequivocally asserted that they were free to enlarge the scope and powers of the Union and add as many subjects as they may wish to do to the Union Government.

"We know what is the objective and purpose of the Congress. The Congress believes that they have secured a declaration from the British Government of complete independence of India outside the Commonwealth of Nations and that this constitution-making machinery should be turned into a Sovereign body and the only thing for them now remains is to frame a Constitution on the basis of a strong United India Federal Government with vital powers and subjects such as Defence, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Customs, Finance, Commerce, Planning, Industry and Tariff and further with power to step in if a constitution of any provincial Government was not working according to their conception thus reducing the provinces to a position no better than municipalties or county councils.

"Mr. Patel says that no individual statement or expression of opinion could alter the solemn resolution and the resolution is clear. But are we to disregard the pronouncement of the President of the Congress when he further clarifies a

resolution? Then what importance are we to attach to the individual pronouncements like Mr. Patel's.?

Freedom For Both

"Mr. Patel says: 'The League and the Congress pull in opposite directions. One wants to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan while the other yearns for a United India.' It was clear' Mr. Patel adds, that 'the two have no common meeting ground and that coalition between the Congress and the League was impossible for the organizations holding views which were diametrically opposed to each other.'

"But when we demand Pakistan and division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan our scheme gives freedom and independence to both the major nations—the Hindus and the Muslims—whereas the Congress and Mr. Patel are adamant and wish to establish a United India with a strong Federal Central Government, which means that 100 million Muslims are to be brought under the yoke of Caste-Hindu majority rule; and it means freedom only for the Hindus and slavery for Muslims under Hindu raj. How can then there be a common meeting-ground on this basis for which, I have no doubt, many Caste Hindus passionately yearn and Mr. Patel dreams.

"Having declared that we stand poles asunder, Mr. Patel advises me that I should change my approach and cease to be a communalist and become a nationalist—suppose he means a Congress nationalist—and accept that the Congress represents all India, on the imaginary footing that India was one country and one nation. Whereas the facts are that the Congrtess is nothing but a Caste Hindu organisation.

"But his advice that I should become a nationalist and cease to be a communalist means nothing except that I should bury the Pakistan demand, disown the Muslim nation and appear before him in sack-cloth and ashes, and after that, when we have entirely thrown ourselves at their mercy we can have as

many seats in the proposed Executive as we like, as their creatures.

Terms of Contradiction

"Mr. Patel is speaking in terms of contradiction. On one hand, he says there is no meeting ground and coalition is impossible as we are poles asunder, but on the other hand, he says that the Congress had gone to my doors a hundred times. This, of course, is not true. I have never declined to go to them. The turth is that three times in the course of the last eight years Mr. Gandhi came to me with a view to persuade me to accept the Congress demands which I could not.

"Does Mr. Patel want me to go to the Congress to persuade them to accept the Pakistan demand of the Muslims which he characterised in his speech as a deflated cycle tube. Last time when Mr. Gandhi came to me he came only in his individual capacity to understand what the Pakistan demand meant, and I spent three weeks with him to convert him but I failed.

"This sort of talk is really intended to poison the mind of the Hindus and Mr. Patel is only suffering from an inferiority complex. At Simla when it was arranged that Nehru and I should meet, I asked him where we can meet and he himself said "I shall go over to you." When we met on May 11 during the conference time I pleaded before him for one and a half hour and appealed to him to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan but he was adamant.

"Before parting I cautioned him that he should not be poisoned by taunts that he had come to my place and that I was not willing to go to his place. The place really does not matter, and it is so petty to trot this out in a manner which Mr. Patel has done. I told Pandit Nehru that if after consulting his colleagues he wished to discuss the matter on the basis of

Pakistan and gave me an appointment, I would gladly go to his place or anybody else's place that he may wish.

"Mr. Patel makes a passionate appeal; after having made it clear that there was no meeting ground, he invites me to sit with the Congress as 'brothers' and join them to break the statement of the Mission. Well, we have already torn up the statement of May 16. He doubts our desire for freedom when he says that we should join hands with the Congress, if we are keen upon freedom. And finally, he says: "When we have sat as brothers and if there is no agreement possible let the matter be referred to arbitration and let us abide by the award of the arbitrator".

Fooling Ignorant Public

"This proposal is made again to impress the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and so conciliatory but the Muslim League is intransigent. Mr. Patel knows perfectly well and I have pointed out more than once that the demand for Pakistan is based on the right of self-determination of the Muslims which is their birth-right and it is not and cannot be a justifiable issue on principle alone. It is absurd to say that this matter particularly be referred to arbitration.

"Even on practical grounds who will select the arbitrators and who will enforce their award? No country can run its government unless its constitution is framed by the willing consent of the people concerned. For this very reason the Congress and the Muslim League had demanded Constituent Assemblies of the representatives of the people to frame the constitution.

"Then why talk of the Constituent Assembly and why not refer the whole matter regarding the entire framing of the constitution to the arbitration of a few?

Ludicrous Proposal

"Therefore, the proposal of arbitration is ludicrous. Mr. Patel knows better than anybody else that it could not be accepted, both on grounds of principle and as a practical proposition.

"Mr. Patel has now become the champion of the British whom he says I have traduced, and complains that I have abused the Congress. He does not specify what are those abuses. I have certainly attacked and criticised the Congress and charged them with disrupting the Muslims and have exposed their false claim that they represent all-India, including Muslims which certainly is not true. All my attacks and criticism have been in self-defence against the most aggressive and arrogant attitude of the Congress.

"The Congress has made every effort to mislead people here and abroad aided with its vast and powerful press and organisation and has accused me and the Muslim League that we are a tool in the hands of British Imperialism and not a day passes when the Congress Press does not abuse the League and myself.

"There are many inaccuracies in Mr. Patel's statement and they are merely intended as propaganda for the Congress, and to mislead the people abroad by passing off that their's was a conciliatory attitude whereas the League was intransigent." (A.P.I.).

QAP-F-113/pp.43-49 &

The Dawn, August 6, 1946.

902

Statement on the Congress Working Committee's Resolution, Bombay, August 12, 1946.

"The entire scheme of the British Cabinet Mission consisted of the long-term plan, Statement of May 16 and May 25 and the short-term proposal of setting up the Interim Government and these two formed integral parts of the whole scheme and were interdependent and indivisible. The Muslim League accepted both whereas the Congress rejected the Interim Government proposal of 16th June and accepted the statement of May 16 conditionally with reservations and their own interpretations.

In Fact Rejection

"The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy scrapped the Interim Government proposal of June 16 and treated the Congress decision communicated to them on June 25 and 26 wrongly as acceptance. The so-called acceptance was, in fact, a rejection.

"After that the Viceroy declined to postpone the elections to the Constituent Assembly on the plea that arrangements for it had gone far too ahead. Although the arrangements with regard to the Interim Government were complete and the resignations of the then members of his Executive Council were held by him, and according to the Statement of June 16 the Interim Government was to be set up on or about June 26, yet it was scrapped. After this the Muslim League was free to take such decision as they thought proper as the entire basis of the scheme had fallen through.

"It was only the Council of the All-India Muslim League that could finally have decided our attitude and in these circumstances we summoned the Council of the All-India

Muslim League at Bombay on July 27 and 29 and they decided to withdraw our acceptance formally.

"In the meantime we decided to contest the elections to the Constituent Assembly in order to prevent undesirable people getting in as Muslim representatives and we captured 95 per cent Muslim seats.

"Meanwhile, before the Council of the League had met, Congress leaders including the President in their speeches at the All-India Congress Committee meeting on July 6 and 7 made their pronouncements which created grave apprehensions in the League circles and were expressed by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in his statement from Delhi and by me in my statement from Hyderabad on July 13 notably with regard to the pronouncement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on July 10 at a Press Conference in Bombay.

"The Assam Legislative Assembly while electing the representatives to the Constituent Assembly, had, under the instructions of the Congress High Command, passed a resolution giving a mandate not only to the Congress members but also to the representatives of the Musalmans elected by a separate bloc of Muslim members, to have nothing to do with the "C" Group from the very start.

"This clearly rupudiated the fundamental terms of the Statement of May 16 and this is an instance of how the majority acted although it is highly doubtful whether the Assam Assembly was competent to give such a mandate to the representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

"The latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha on August 10 does not carry us anywhere, because it is only a repetition of the Congress stand taken by them from the very beginning only put in a different language and phraseology.

"This is what they say with regard to their decision on the long-term plan:

'The Committee further noted that criticisms have been advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that Congress acceptance of the proposals contained in the Statement of May 16 was conditional. The Committee wish to make it clear that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in this Statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety.'

The resolution further continues:

'They interpreted it so as to resolve the inconsistency contained in it and fill the omissions in accordance with the principle laid down in that Statement.'

The Inconsistency

"Therefore, to start with, they are free to resolve the inconsistency and fill in the omissions. How can that be in accordance with the principle laid down in that Statement? What is the inconsistency and what are the omissions?

The resolution proceeds further and says:

"They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not."

"Therefore they maintain that it is open to the Congress to decide whether any particular province could join the Group or not.

But they go on to say:

'The question of interpretations will be decided by the procedure laid down in the Statement itself and the Congress will advise its representatives to the Constituent assembly to function accordingly.'

Who will decide this question of interpretations and by what procedure and what is the procedure laid down in the

Statement for the purpose of interpreting the Statement or any clause thereof except by the brute majority?

'The resolution then goes on further:

"The Committee have emphasised the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, that is its right to function and draw up the Constitution for India without the interference of any external power or authority. But the Assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task and will further seek the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up the Constitution of free India, allowing the greatest measure of freedom and protection for all just claims and interests.'

"Therefore, it is obvious that they still hold that this constitution making machinery is a Sovereign Constituent Assembly. But they resent any interference of any external power and authority.

Internal Limitations

"Whoever has suggested it and where has it been suggested?

"The question is how this Assembly will function and they make it clear that it will do so with internal limitations which are inherent in its task.

"What are the internal limitations in the Statement of May 16 which could not be overruled by a Sovereign Constituent Assembly.

"If any decisions are taken by this Assembly which are repugnant, *ultra vires* or incompetent for the Assembly to adopt provided for it either internally or externally except against the brute majority in the Assembly.

"They conclude by saying that the resolution of the Working Committee passed on June 26 and confirmed by the

A.I.C.C. "must stand and they propose to proceed accordingly with their work in the Constituent Assembly."

"Therefore, it is quite clear that there is no change on the part of the Congress except the starting expression that they had accepted the scheme in its entirety which is immediately contradicted by what follows in the resolution and they have reiterated their repudiation of the grouping and emphasised once more the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, which connotes that it will not be bound by anything laid down in the Statement of May 16 and would be free to decide every question by majority.

"I need not deal with the rest of the resolution which is nothing but verbiage and an appeal to the League to join the battle of India's independence.

"But there is no doubt left as to India's independence now because the Statement of May 16, at any rate, makes it clear on the part of the British and Mr. Patel, in his recent speech in Bombay, said there was no need any longer to fight the British and that the only revolution that was needed was internal revolution. With whom does the Congress ask us to join hands and for what purpose?

"I am afraid the situation remains as it was and we are where we were".

The Dawn, August 13, 1946.

903

Appeal to the Muslims to observe the "Direct Action" Day peacefully and in a disciplined manner, Bombay, August, 14, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has issued the following statement:

"The Muslim League has fixed the 16th of August for the purpose of explaining to the Muslim public all over India the resolutions that were passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the 29th July at Bombay. The object and purpose of this is to make the Muslims understand fully the situation that is facing Muslim India and that they should prepare themselves for any eventuality that we may have to face.

Revolutionary Change

"It will be noted that there has been a revolutionary change in our policy and that we have declared that we shall resort to direct action, as and when necessary and prepare ourselves for the achievement of our goal of Pakistan.

"But the 16th of August is not for the purpose of resorting to direct action in any form or shape; therefore, I enjoin upon the Muslims to carry out the instructions and abide by them strictly and conduct themselves peacefully and in a disciplined manner and not to play into the hands of the enemies." (A.P.I.).

The Dawn, August 15, 1946.

904

Statement releasing his correspondence with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Bombay, August 15, 1946.

Regarding his meeting with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah in an interview to the Associated Press of India said "Nothing has happened beyond the fact that we had a general talk. I have nothing more to say."

Letter from Pandit Nehru, dated Wardha, August 13:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As you know, the Viceroy has invited me in my capacity as President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of the Interim Government. I have accepted the invitation. I feel that my first step should be to approach you and seek your cooperation in the formation of a coalition provisional Government. It is naturally our desire to have as representative a government as possible. Should you wish to discuss this matter further with me, before coming to a decision, I shall gladly see you in Bombay or wherever you may be. I am leaving Wardha on the 14th and reaching Bombay on the 15th August forenoon. Probably I shall leave Bombay for Delhi on the morning of August 17.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Jawaharlal Nehru

Reply from Mr. Jinnah, dated Bombay, August 15:

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I received your letter, dated the 13th, yesterday, delivered to me by hand.

I know nothing as to what has transpired between the Viceroy and you; nor have I any idea of what agreement has

been arrived at between you two, except what you say in your letter that the Viceroy has invited you, in your capacity as the President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of the Interim Government and that you have accepted the invitation.

Position Unacceptable

If this means that the Viceroy has commissioned you to form the Executive Council of the Governor-General and has already agreed to accept and act upon your advice and proceed to constitute his Executive Council accordingly, it is not possible for me to accept such a position on that basis.

However, if you care to meet me on behalf of the Congress to settle the Hindu-Muslim question and resolve the serious deadlock, I shall be glad to see you to-day at 6 p.m.

The substance of your letter, unfortunately, has already appeared in the Press even before I received it. May I, therefore, request you to release this letter of mine also to the Press?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) M.A. Jinnah

Letter from Pandit Nehru, dated August 15, to Mr. Jinnah:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of today's date which was delivered to me at about 1 p.m.

Nothing has transpired between me and the Viceroy except what has already been published. There is no arrangement other than what is contained in his brief offer and our acceptance. That offer, made by the Viceroy with the concurrence of the British Government, is for us to make proposals for the formation immediately of an interim government. The Executive Council of the Governor-General has not been mentioned as such. It is understood, as stated in

the published correspondence between the Congress President and the Viceroy, that the Interim Government will have the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-today administration of this country.

League's Co-operation

Since this brief offer was made and we accpeted it, I have had no opportunity to meet the Viceroy or discuss the matter with him more fully. I hope to do so within the next two or three days. It was our wish, however, that I might approach you first and invite your co-operation. We are naturally anxious to form a government which will be as representative as possible in order to deal with the urgent problems facing this country.

In your letter you state that you are unable to accept the position as it appears to you. I regret this. Perhaps, on fuller consideration of the position you would be agreeable to reconsider your decision. If so, we would welcome it. For this purpose I shall gladly see you, if you so desire.

Hindu-Muslim Question

As regards the general Hindu-Muslim question, we are always prepared to discuss this and try to find a way out. Just at present we are immediately concerned with the formation of the provisional government and circumstances demand that early steps should be taken in regard to it. We hope that a provisional government will itself help in the consideration and solution of our problems. While I am willing to discuss the larger question with you, I have no new suggestions to make. Perhaps you may be able to suggest a new approach.

I am prepared to come to your place at 6 a.m. this evening, or if it is more convenient to you, some time tomorrow. I am leaving Bombay on the 17th morning.

My letter to you was not sent to the Press. I made a brief statement to the Press, however, in view of repeated questions

put to me by newspapermen and in order to prevent misconceptions, if you so desire, you can release all this correspondence to the Press.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Jawaharlal Nehru

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Pandit Nehru, dated August 15.

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 15 delivered to me at about 3.30 p.m. and I thank you for it.

I have already made my position clear in my letter, dated the 15th of August sent to you this morning. But as you have given certain explanations, with some of which I must not be taken to agree, and as you desire to meet, I shall be glad to see you today at 6 p.m.

I agree with you that in order to prevent misconception in the mind of the public, our correspondence should be published and accordingly I am releasing it to the Press.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) M. A. Jinnah

(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 16, 1946.

905

Message to the people of Indonesia, Bombay, August 16, 1946.

"Message greeting the people of Indonesia on the first anniversary of the Indonesian Republic falling tomorrow, has been received by the organisation of Indonesians in India known

as the Indonesian struggle for Independence in India, Bombay from Mr. M.A. Jinnah President of the All-India Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah in his message says: "Muslim League have full sympathy with the Indonesians in their struggle for independence." (A.P.I).

The Dawn, August 18, 1946.

906

Interview to the Associated Press of India on the situation in Calcutta, Bombay, August 17, 1946.

"I unreservedly condemn the acts of violence and deeply sympathise with those who have suffered", said Mr. M.A. Jinnah, interviewed by the API on the situation in Calcutta. He added: "At present I do not know who is responsible for the resultant loss of life and property, which has been reported in the Press.

"I have no official reports from any quarters—either the Provincial Muslim League Executive or the Government of Bengal.

"Those who are guilty of resorting to indefensible conduct and hooliganism must be dealt with according to law, as their actions were (so far as the Muslim League is concerned) contrary to expressed instructions and they have only played into the hands of the enemies of the Muslim League.

"It may be the action of agents provocateur. I do not believe that any Muslim Leaguer would have taken part in using any violence but if any have broken the strict and solemn instructions to conduct themselves peacefully, I have no doubt in my mind that the Provincial Muslim League will not fail to take immediate action against them.

"I await the authoritative reports before I can say anything further."

Mr. Jinnah said that the newspapers had contained reports of unarmed Muslim Leaguers going to the affected areas and helping to restore order.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 18, 1946.

907

Statement explaining why he refused League cooperation with the Congress, Bombay, August 18, 1946.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would have been nearer the truth if instead of saying that there was lack of co-operation from the Muslim League, he had said that the Muslim League was not prepared to surrender; and it would have been still more true if instead of saying that the Congress doors of cooperation were still open, he had said that the Congress door was open to the Muslim League for abject surrender, says Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement.

Mr. Jinnah adds: "It has been made very clear once more and it has been admitted by Pandit Nehru in his recent Press Conference that the Congress has not accepted the long term plan of May 16, and there is no doubt that they rejected the short-term final proposal of June 16 of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, whereupon that part of the scheme was scrapped by the Viceroy.

"In his Press Conference, Pandit Nehru admitted that there was no difference between the decision of the Congress Working Committee taken at Wardha on the August 10 and the resolution of the AICC of July 7 passed at Bombay ratifying the earlier decision of the Working Committee at Delhi on June 25 and 26.

"So the matter stands as it was after the original decision of the Congress Working Committee at Delhi, and therefore, now admittedly the Congress has not accepted the long-term plan nor the short-term proposal whereas the Muslim League did accept both and that was what the Mission did accept at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council on July 29.

New Situation

Mr. Jinnah says: "What remains now is the new situation created by the communique issued by the Viceroy inviting the Congress to make their proposals for the Interim Government. Our position from the very beginning has been that the long-term settlement and the Interim Government must go together and that they constitute one whole indivisible scheme and the one cannot be separated from the other and that was what the mission did according to their statements of May 16 and June 10."

"We were not satisfied with all the proposals of the scheme and they were more against the League stand than against the Congress. Nevertheless we accepted them but the Congress rejected them. But now as I have already said I don't know as to what is going on between the Viceroy and Pandit Nehru and the Congress."

"In the course of our interview on August 15 Pandit Nehru declined to discuss the long-term settlement. He made it clear to me that they were invited by the Viceroy to make their proposals for the Interim Government and he thought that he would like to see me before the Congress submitted their proposals to the Viceroy.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah says: "The proposals which he made were that the Congress would form the Cabinet and they were prepared to give 5 seats out of 14 to the Muslim League and the remaining 9 would be filled by the Congress nominees including one Muslim of their choice: that this Cabinet would be

responsible only to the present Central Legislative Assembly, where I may point out the Congress has got at least 3 votes as against one of the Muslim League: and further that the Viceroy would be the constitutional Governor-General and must not exercise his veto nor should any other external authority interfere with this Cabinet."

"It was not that he was forming the Executive Council of the Governor-General under the framework of the present constitution but the Government so formed would be a 'provisional National Government.'

"This was the plan, he disclosed to me and it was obvious that I could not possibly accept such a proposal because after that there would remain nothing to talk about the Muslim demand and our goal of Pakistan.

"From what he has announced in his Press Conference I gather that his position is more or less the same. In his Press Conference which was very long drawn he has said many things but I do not propose to controvert all the details and shall deal only with the main points.

Who Are Others?

Mr. Jinnah continues: "He is reported to have said that almost all others were willing to co-operate with the Congress except the Muslim League. Who are the others? The Sikhs have changed four times already and the 5th time it may be our good luck and they may become our friends.

"Even their last decision as Master Tara Singh explained was not unanimous and he the leader of the Akali Party was himself opposed to it but it was a compromise for the particular purpose of wrecking the group "B" with the help of the Congress which the latter has promised.

"The Scheduled Castes, who, I am sorry to say, have been let down by the Viceroy are purposely opposed to the

Congress and the Christian organisation is certainly not with the Congress nor the Anglo-Indians or the Parsis.

"It is only the Caste Hindu Fascist Congress and their few individual henchmen of other communities, who want to be installed in power and authority of the Government of India to dominate and rule over the Musalmans and other minority communities of India with the aid of British bayonets.

"When he was asked if the Muslim League resorted to direct action when power is handed over to the Congress what would be the attitude of the Congress, Pandit Nehru replied making it clear that they would crush the Muslim League or if they fail the Government would go down.

"When he says that the League will be crushed if we resort to direct action, he talks with confidence or he relies upon the shelter and support of the baton of Field-Marshal Wavell.

Congress Veto

"It cannot be said with any qualms of conscience" says Mr. Jinnah "that the minority has placed a veto on the advance of the majority community. For we had accepted the considered final proposals of the Mission and the Viceroy both with regard to long term and the Interim Government—although they were not quite satisfactory to us—and it is the Congress that has rejected them both by their veto and intransigent attitude.

"Now the question is whether this majority is going to be installed in power on its own terms by the British Government to rule the Musalmans and the minorities with the help of British blood and treasure?

"It is inconceivable that Mr. Attlee the Prime Minister could have ever meant this—the forcing of any such arrangement upon the Muslims and others which must and

would result in unprecedented and most dangerous and disastrous consequences.

"In his Press Conference, Pandit Nehru has not failed to give his repeated threat even while he is seeking our "co-operation," he says:

"They (Congress) must do their utmost not only to keep the Congress organisation going but must strengthen it, widen it and make it more disciplined and ready for action when action might be necessary.

"They would have to consider how the organisation should adapt itself to the changing circumstances so that it might not come in conflict and yet at the same time retain its revolutionary outlook."

"He has again repeated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective and that it was only a step in that direction and if any thing came in their way they will abandon it. He considers that the swift limb of the Congress should not be shackled to the halt and the lame by which latter expression, I presume he means the Muslim League."

"Why then does the swift limb want to make alliance with the British imperialism and depend upon British bayonets? Is it to enable them to crush the Muslim League? Why cannot they stand on their own?

"Having laid down the policy of his future Government of India as regards the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru indulges further in declarations of his policy and formulates principles as to how they will proceed with regard to the Indian States and how they will be treated and the policy of his Government of India with regard to other countries and the general international and foreign relations without any reference to the Muslim League."

"This is the tenor tone and temper of the pronouncement of Pandit Nehru displayed in the course of his Press Conference immediately after his interview with me when he came to seek my co-operation.

He says our talk did not bring the Congress and the Muslim League any nearer one another. How can it?" Concludes Mr. Jinnah.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 19, 1946.

908

Statement inviting Master Tara Singh for a heart to heart talk, Bombay, August 23, 1946.

An invitation to Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader to come and have a heart-to-heart talk with him has been made by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement. Mr. Jinnah assures the Akali leader that the League would meet the Sikh community reasonably and fairly.

Mr. Jinnah says: "I have read the report of the statement of Master Tara Singh issued by him from Amritsar on August 21; and I am glad that Master Tara Singh has said that the Sikhs are anxious to be friendly towards every one and subservient to nobody.

"I can assure him that the Muslim League and I are always ready and willing to meet the Sikh community reasonably and fairly and I invite them to come and have a heart-to-heart talk with me. Personally, I may say here that I have got great regard for Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, and our relations have always been most cordial and friendly.

Position Not Appreciated

"As regards his saying that we have changed also, I am afraid Master Tara Singh has not appreciated the position. The Congress wrecked the final proposals of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of June 16 regarding the Interim Government by rejecting them. The Congress acceptance of the long-term plan was only sham as it is clear from the letter of the President of the Congress dated June 25 and the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress of June 26 and the Wardha resolution of August 10 has once more affirmed their original stand.

In these circumstances the Muslim League had only one course open and that was to formally withdraw its acceptance as it was the only one of the two major parties which had definitely accepted both the long-term and short-term plans together. It is not fair to characterise this as a "change".(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 24, 1946.

909

Statement while releasing his correspondence with the Viceroy, Bombay, August 25, 1946.

Following the announcement about the formation of the Interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has released the correspondence that passed between him and the Viceroy between July 22 and August 8. In a statement releasing the correspondence Mr. Jinnah says:

"It is to be regretted that the Viceroy, in his broadcast last night should have made such a misleading statement and

contrary to facts that though five seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government is to operate under the existing constitution, it has not been possible to secure a coalition.

"The truth is that the Viceroy wrote to me on 22nd July making certain proposals which were vitally and substantially different from the Interim Government proposals embodied in the statement of 16th June and the assurances given to the Muslim League, enclosing a copy of a similar letter addressed by him to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This was on the eve of the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Viceroy knew full well that a grave situation had been created and that there were serious apprehensions and misgivings about the policy of His Majesty's Government and his attitude in the matter.

"Nevertheless, there is not a single word in his letter of 22nd July with regard to our position vis-a-vis the Constituent Assembly in the light of the decision of the Congress, the pronouncements of the Congress leaders and the directive given by the Assam Assembly to Assam's representatives on the Constituent Assembly to have nothing to do with the "C" Group.

Departure From Proposals

"I replied to the Viceroy on the 31st of July, clearly stating our position with regard to his new move which was obviously intended to meet the Congress wishes, for else what justification was there for him to depart even from the final proposals embodied in the Statement of June 16? Will the Viceroy explain why should there be any departure from those proposals and the assurances that were given to us and for whose advantage is this new move being made by him?

"I received a reply from him dated the 8th of August acknowledging my letter of 31st July; it is amazing that he should have stated therein that his suggestion in his letter of 22nd July was the same as the one Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June namely, 6; 5:3.

This is entirely incorrect as has been already pointed out by me in my letter of 21st July. He further says:

"In view of the League resolution of the 29th July, I have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government, and I am sure that if they make a reasonable offer to you of a coalition I can rely on you for a ready response."

A Mere Formality

"I had, and have, no knowledge or information as to what actually transpired between the Congress and the Viceroy but, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I suppose as arranged, came to see me on the 15th of August. It was merely a formality and he made his offer. That the Congress were willing to give out of 14, five seats to the Muslim League and the remaining 9 were to be nominated by them, including one Muslim of their choice; that he was not forming the Executive Council under the present constitution but a Provisional National Government responsible to the present Legislative Assembly; and he made it clear in his letter of 15th August in reply to mine of the same date that while he was willing to discuss the larger question with me, he had no new suggestion to make and added, 'perhaps you may be able to make a new approach and when I did make a suggestion, he turned it down saying that the Congress stand was the same as laid down in their resolution of Delhi passed on June 26 and that the Wardha resolution of August 10, had only re-affirmed that stand, and this was repeated by him at the Press conference on 16th August before his departure for Delhi to meet the Viceroy:

Not Acceptable

"I informed Pandit Nehru that in these circumstances there was no chance of the Working Committee or the Council of the All-India Muslim League accepting his proposals.

"Thereafter the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders have now for nearly a week carried on their discussions and negotiations behind my back and without any knowledge or information being furnished to me, except the communique that was issued last night announcing the formation of the Interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast.

"As the Viceroy has already disclosed the alleged offer without stating what reply he had received from me, I am herewith releasing the correspondence:

Letter from Lord Wavell, dated 22nd July, 1946,

to Mr. Jinnah.: Personal and Confidential:

Dear Mr. Jinnah: I declared my intention of replacing the present Caretaker Government of officials by an Interim Coalition Government as soon as possible: and am now putting to you as President of the Muslim League and to the President of the Congress the proposals set out below.

2. I think you will probably agree with me that our negotiations both this summer and last year were hampered by the attendant publicity. I am, therefore, seeking your co-operation in conducting at any rate the preliminary stages of the negotiations on a strictly personal and secret basis between myself and the two Presidents. I very much hope that you will prevent this correspondence being known to or discussed in the Press until we have seen whether we can find some basis of agreement. I realise of course, that you will have at some stage to secure the approval of your Working Committee; but I believe it will be best to try and reach some basis of agreement between

ourselves as a first step. I propose the following for your consideration:

(a) The interim Government will consist of 14 members;

(b) six members. (to include one Scheduled Caste representative) will be nominated by the Congress. Five members will be nominated by the Muslim League. Three representatives of minorities will be nominated by the Viceroy. One of these places will be kept for a Sikh.

It will not be open to either Congress or the Muslim League to object to the names submitted by the other party, provided they are accepted by the Viceroy.

(c) Distribution of portfolios will be decided after the parties have agreed to enter the Government and have submitted their names. The Congress and the Muslim League will each have an equitable share of the most important portfolios.

(d) The assurances about the status of the Interim Government which I gave in my letter dated 30th May to Maulana Azad will stand.

3. I would welcome a convention, if freely offered by the Congress, that major communal issues can only be decided by the assent of both the major parties. But I have never thought that it was essential to make this a formal condition since in fact a Coalition Government could work on no other basis.

4. I sincerely trust that your party will agree to co-operate in the administration of India on the above basis, while the work of constitution-making proceeds. I am confident that this will be of the greatest possible benefit to India. I suggest that we should not spend further time in negotiation; but should try out at once a Government on the basis proposed above. If it does

not work and you find the conditions unsatisfactory, it will be open to you to withdraw, but I am confident that you will not.

5. Would you be good enough to let me know very soon whether the Muslim League will enter in the Interim Government on this basis? I have written in similar terms to Pandit Nehru and enclose a copy of my letter to him

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Wavell

P.S. I am seeing Pandit Nehru this afternoon on other matters and will hand him his letter then.

Mr. Jinnah's reply to the above dated 31st July 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd July and I notice that this is the fourth basis that you are suggesting for the formation of your Interim Government. From 5:5:2 you came to 5:5:3 and then 5:5:4 as embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself dated the 16th June, 1946 which was announced by you as final. Now you are making this fourth proposal i.e. 6:5:3.

Every time the Congress turned down the previous three proposals as you were unable to appease them or propitiate them; and every time the departure was prejudicial to the League and in favour of the Congress.

And now you have put your fourth proposal for my consideration.

It gives a go by to all the important terms which were in favour of the Muslim League; the Congress will have six members out of 14 as against 5 members of the Muslim League which breaks straight away the principle of parity; and you are letting down the Scheduled Castes as one of them is proposed to be nominated by the Congress and not by the real spokesmen of

the Scheduled Castes. I note that you say that five members will be nominated by the Muslim League. Next three members by the minorities be nominated by the Viceroy without reference to or any consultation with the Muslim League. The only indication that you have given is that one of these places will be kept for a Sikh.

"Then you proceed on to say that "it will not be open either to the Congress or the Muslim League to object to names submitted by the other party, provided they are accepted by the Viceroy" and from this I gather that it will be open to the Congress to nominate a Quisling Muslim.

"As to the distribution of portfolios, I note you say that "the Congress and the Muslim League will have an equitable share of the most important portfolios" and not equal as it was originally proposed.

"As to the assurance about safeguards i.e. that a major communal issue could only be decided by the consent of both the major parties, you say that "it will be only considered if freely offered by the Congress", but you do not attach much importance to it and you conclude by saying that if the Interim Government does not work when formed on this basis and if we find conditions unsatisfactory, it will be open to us to withdraw. I believe in the principle "prevention is better than cure".

"This is a very clear and substantial departure, most detrimental to the Muslim League, and is obviously intended to appease the Congress and devised primarily to meet their wishes.

"Taking the final proposal of June 16, 1946, in your letter dated the 20th of June you informed me that 14 members were invited by you on the basis of parity between Hindus and Muslims and communitywise and that it will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties. Apart from the secret talks you had with the Congress you clearly conveyed to

us that the invitees were asked to join specifically on the basis of 5 Hindus, 5 Muslims, one Sikh, one Scheduled Caste, one Christian and one Parsi. Your present proposal clearly destroys the principle of parity as well as representation according to communities and give a clear majority to the Congress as against the Muslim League to start with. Further the Scheduled Caste will be nominated by the Congress, which in my opinion is most unjust to a community of 60 million people, who are groaning under the social and economic tyranny of the high caste Hindus, whom alone the Congress, really represents.

As regards representatives of other minorities, they will be nominated by you without reference to or any consultation with the Muslim League. This again is a departure from what you stated in your letter of the 20th June, that "if any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to the representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the major parties before filling it." I think you will appreciate that when you start with 6 Congress and 5 Muslim League with a Congress majority, the minority representatives will hold a very strong position as a balancing element, who would be nominated by you without even consultation with the Muslim League and this is a serious departure from what we were assured of in your letter of the 20th of June.

"You categorically state in your letter of 20th June, paragraph 5 that "no decision on a major communal issue would be taken by the Interim Government if a majority of the representatives of either of the two major parties were opposed to it", whereas now in the present proposals you inform me that you will welcome a convention if freely offered by the Congress.

As you have written this letter to me and is strictly personal and secret I can only say that in my opinion there is no chance of my Working Committee accepting this proposal.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Jinnah

Letter from the Viceroy dated 8th August, 1946.

(Personal and Secret)

Dear Mr. Jinnah, — I have received your letter of the 31st July, about my proposal for an Interim Government.

2. I am sorry that things have gone the way they have, but I do not think it would be profitable now to enter into a detailed discussion of the points you raise in your letter. I will only remind you that the basis of representation which I suggested in the letter to which you now reply is the same as the one the Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June, namely, 6:5:3.

3. In view of the League resolutions of the 29th July, I have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government and I am sure that if they make a reasonable offer to you of a coalition, I can rely on you for a ready response. I have told the President of the Congress that any Interim Government would be on the basis of the assurances given in my letter of the 30th May to Maulana Azad.

I hope we may have an opportunity of meeting soon.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) Wavell

As regards the rest of the broadcast I shall deal with it as soon as possible after the full text of it is available to me. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 26, 1946.

910

Statement on the Viceroy's broadcast on August 24, 1946, announcing the formation of the Interim Government, Bombay, August 26, 1946.

My reaction to the Viceroy's broadcast is that he has struck a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India, but I am sure that the Muslims of India will bear this with fortitude and courage and learn lessons from our failure to secure our just and honourable position in the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

I once more repeat my question. Why has the Viceroy gone back on what was announced in the Statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on June 16 as final, and the assurances given to the Muslim League in his letter, dated June 20?. What has happened between June 16, and July 22 that he was pleased to change that formula vitally and substantially, and what has happened between July 22 and August 24 that he has gone ahead and jammed in a one party government.

He says in his broadcast that he was addressing those who advised him that this step should not have been taken in this way or at this time. I was one of those unfortunate persons and I still maintain that the step he has taken is most unwise and unstatesmanlike and is fraught with dangerous and serious consequences and he has only added insult to injury by nominating three Muslims who, he knows, do not command either the respect or confidence of Muslim India and two more Muslim names still remain to be announced.

Same Old Refrain

He is still harping that we are not opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny. Of course, we are

not opposed to the freedom of the peoples of India and we have made it clear that the only solution of India's problem is a division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, which would mean real freedom for the two major nations, and every possible safeguard for the minorities in the respective States.

I am sorrier that the Viceroy about his failure to secure a Coalition Government but my sorrow springs from a different fountain and for different reasons from those of his. I am glad that the Viceroy realises that what is needed is a Coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented, and I am glad that he is also speaking on behalf of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress that they hold this view as strongly as he does that and their efforts will be directed to persuade the League to join the Government. I do not know what the Viceroy means when he says, in his broadcast, of his offer that has been made and which is still open. It is so vague except that the Muslim League will have five seats. Nothing else is clearly stated.

He has referred to many other things, into which I need not go at present. As regards the Constituent Assembly, I do not know what he means when he says "Here again let me remind you that assurances have been given to the League that the procedure laid down in the Statement of May 16 regarding the framing of provincial and group constitutions will be faithfully adhered to.' It is not a procedure, it is fundamental and basic. The question is whether it can be changed in any way whatsoever.

Then he proceeds to say that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in paragraph 15 of the Statement of May 16 and he echoes that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute or interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

Differing Interpretations

But how can he expect an agreement on the terms and fundamentals of the Statement of May 16 when one party puts one interpretation contrary to the authoritative Statement of the Mission dated May 25 and the other party puts a different interpretation which is more in accord with the Statement of May 25, but he complacently goes on to say that any dispute or interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court.

To begin with, there is no provision for such a dispute being referred to the Federal Court, and secondly, on the very threshold the parties fundamentally differ in their interpretations regarding the basic terms. Are we going to commence the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly with litigation and law suits in the Federal Court? Is this the spirit in which the future constitution can be framed affecting four hundred million people of this sub-continent?

If the Viceroy's appeal is really sincere and if he is in earnest, he should translate it into concrete proposals and his deed and actions.

The Dawn, August 27, 1946.

911

Id Message to the Musalmans of India

Bombay, August 28, 1946.

On this most auspicious and happy occasion, I wish all Musalmans "Id Mubarak," happiness and prosperity.

The sacred month of Ramazan is just over and the Muslims have gone through its regime of the most trying nature and rigours prescribed with patience and confidence. It is a great institution in itself and it teaches the Musalmans that without undergoing hardships, toil and trouble and without making

sacrifices, it is impossible for one to achieve one's objective, and for we Muslims of India, there is much to learn from the regime laid down for Ramazan.

We have now to grip with realities and I appeal to the Musalmans to organize, consolidate and co-ordinate all our activities and forces as one solid and disciplined nation and be ready to face all eventualities. There is no royal road to freedom except by suffering and sacrifice and by removing all obstacles in our way. I want every Musalman, man, woman and child, to resolve on this auspicious day to work as disciplined soldiers in every department of life, educational, social, economical and political, and thus build up for our nation of hundred million people, a place worthy of our glorious past and historic traditions.

Horizon Is Dark For Us

Today the horizon is dark for us. The doings of the British Government and the Viceregal Lodge are shrouded in mystery; we are vilified, misrepresented and threatened from every direction and the Viceroy has gone headlong and seems to be persistent in his career, in a manner which is reckless and irresponsible. The Muslim League is ignored and bypassed: tremendous false propaganda is carried on to throw the blame on the Muslim League, for which there is not an iota of justification; the Viceroy and the British Government have surrendered to the Congress and it only remains for them now franlky to make a declaration that they have abdicated and are about to hand over to the Fascist Caste-Hindu Congress—the Government of this sub-continent.

The Test of the Fire

The British public is kept in darknes
in recess. This has created a very grave and dangerous situation for us and we must face it as a united nation and go through the

test and fire of being suppressed, oppressed and persecuted. I am confident that if hundred million Muslims stand united, all the manoeuvres, machinations and designs of our opponents will fail miserably and we shall emerge out of this struggle triumphantly and shall achieve Pakistan which is our only salvation and without which we perish.

We have argued; we have reasoned; we have supplicated and we have made great concessions but all to no purpose. There remains in front of us a grim struggle and we must face it boldly and courageously but in a disciplined and organised manner and our failure or setback should not make us despaired; nor should our success elate us. Our demands are just and righteous and we cannot fail.

Rally Round Muslim League

I appeal to every Musalman at this critical juncture to rally round the Muslim League unreservedly, especially after what has happened during the last few months. Let there be no fratricidal war among Muslims and let us stand as one united nation under one flag and on one platform and be determined and prepared to face the worst as a completely united and great people with our motto: unity, faith and discipline. God is with us and we are bound to succeed.

The Eastern Times, August 29, 1946.

912

Speech at an Id gathering in Bombay, August 29, 1946.

An appeal to all Muslims in this country and particularly to those who are not with the Muslim League—Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khaksars, Ahrars and 'Nationalist' Muslims—to unite and come under the banner of the Muslim League in the sacred interest of Islam was made by Mr. M.A.

Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing an Id gathering.

Mr. Jinnah asked every Musalman of India to realise the grave situation that had arisen and close their ranks and file and stand united from one end of the country to the other.

He asked them to prepare and organise themselves, because, he said:

"Our opponents think we are not sufficiently strong to face the situation. We must make them realise their folly that they have misjudged the Musalmans of India.

"I have no doubt that if the Musalmans of India stand united and strong all diabolical conspiracies of our opponents will fail. Our cause is righteous and God is with us. The hundred million Musalmans of India cannot be crushed. If we stand strong and united under one flag, we shall achieve our sacred goal of Pakistan, whatever trials and tribulations we may have to undergo and without Pakistan, Muslim India will perish.

The Broken Pledge

Mr. Jinnah reviewed the political developments in the country since the British Cabinet Mission came to India last April and said:

"Today is a happy day for the Musalmans of India and it is a day of happiness and rejoicings for us. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a dark cloud is overshadowing us."

"Muslim India is stunned and shocked for the moment by the gross and wicked betrayal by the British Government who had made a solemn pledge in its declaration of August 1940, that no transfer of power would take place unless there was an agreement of major parties and other major elements of national life of this country. That declaration laid down clearly that not only a new constitution would not be framed except by an agreement between Hindus and Muslims, even the machinery to

draft a new constitution would not be brought into being unless there was an agreement of major elements of national life of this country."

"Today that solemn declaration has been torn to pieces by the British Government. It is, no doubt, a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India. But I am confident that nothing is going to shake us or frighten us. We shall march on and face all the obstacles and march through fire, trials and tribulations. In our onward march there will be setbacks and sufferings: but we will not flinch or falter.

Mr. Jinnah then referred to the broadcast of the Viceroy on August 24, announcing the formation of the Interim Government at the Centre and said that it impressed some people when they heard it on the radio, but it came in cold print and was examined, what did it mean? The Viceroy's broadcast was, no doubt, cleverly worded.

Double Betrayal

The Viceroy has committed a double betrayal in going back on his solemn word and in ignoring and bypassing the Muslim League. I do not know whether the British Government or the Labour Party are really in possession of true facts. But I suspect that there is a move to black out facts from the British public and Press.

The Viceroy's action today is nothing but a wicked breach of the declaration of August 1940, made by the British Government to which the Labour Party was committed. Today, the Congress is happy in having achieved its heart's desire and in having manoeuvred to get the Viceroy by-pass the Muslim League.

But I am also equally happy. If the British Government is happy to have tickled the vanity of the Congress, let it strike a bargain with the Congress. We are prepared for it.

The Negotiations

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the negotiations carried on by him on behalf of the Muslim League with the British Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy and said:

"The Council of the All-India Muslim League on June 6 accepted the proposals although not fully satisfied with them. We accepted the proposals, both short-term and long-term, for the sake of an amicable settlement and on the promise given by the Viceroy on June 3. But immediately, the Viceroy committed a breach of faith in making certain modifications in the original proposals and announced the plan for the immediate formation of an Interim Government at the centre."

"The Congress rejected the short-term plan but it accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission's proposals and that was only a sham acceptance."

"Despite this, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy went back on their promise and they did not go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government."

"There seems to be a mystery behind all this, but it is a conspiracy pre-arranged with the Congress. I cannot understand how the Secretary of State for India in that position, with his two eminent colleagues and the Viceroy committed in cold blood a breach of faith and broke their solemn words. Having betrayed the Muslim League, the Viceroy has now completed the pre-arranged conspiracy with the Congress and finally by-passed the Muslim League."

The Eastern Times, August 30, 1946.

913

Statement refuting the press report about his alleged correspondence with Mr. Churchill, Bombay, August 31, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah has issued the following statement:

"My attention has been drawn to the press report that Mr. Michael Foot M.P. has written an article in the "*Daily Herald*" the official organ of the British Labour Party that Mr. Churchill and I have been engaged in correspondence over a period. This is incorrect and mischievous.

"I wrote to Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, on 6th July, 1946, apprising him of how the Muslim Leaguer had been betrayed by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy and for his information, I enclosed copies of statements that had been issued by me on 27th and 29th June, together with other papers on the eve of the departure of the Cabinet Delegation from India as it was announced that the matter would be placed before Parliament immediately after the return of the Delegation. An identical letter was written by me to Mr. Churchill, the leader of the Opposition with similar enclosures and Mr. Attlee was informed by my letter that I was doing so.

"I received replies from both Mr. Attlee and Mr. Churchill and I have sent them further material with regard to further serious developments that have taken place for their information and consideration." (A.P.I.).

The Dawn, September 1, 1946.

914

Statement on the situation resulting from the Calcutta and Bombay disturbances to a foreign news agency, Bombay, September 3, 1946.

The Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi and the Congress cannot be absolved of their main responsibility in creating the Calcutta situation.

Referring to the disturbances in Bombay, he said:

"From personal knowledge I know that the Musalman is insulted and taunted by the Hindus, who already consider that Hindu raj has been established and that the Musalman must surrender and submit."

"The League has not yet taken any step actually to resort to Direct Action. Until we determine the course of action, whatever that may be, my instructions to the Musalmans to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner stand and those are the instructions issued by every Provincial Muslim League to every member of the League and to the Musalmans generally."

Asked whether the League could put confidence in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement to the Press that "India is going to be run by Indians, for the benefit of Indians, whatever the religion or creed they may belong to and in whatever province or part of India they may live," Mr. Jinnah said: "No."

The observations of Pandit Nehru are meant for propaganda, especially in foreign countries. The Congress is even now busily engaged in obstructing the Musalmans and is trying to break the Muslim League Ministries in Bengal and Sind and have successfully prevented League Ministries from being formed in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces by unscrupulous methods.

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's recent statement that "the Congress could never ally with Britain against the Muslims" and that "it had joined the Interim Government with one object and one only, that of winning freedom—pure and unadulterated—for the whole of India which meant for the Muslim League also, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Mr. Gandhi has, I know, spoken and expressed his gratitude to the British for having put the Congress in power at the centre and yet he says the Congress would never ally itself with the British against the Muslims. Why did the Congress not accept the proposal of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of June 16 to form an Interim Government and held out the threat that if an Interim Government were formed without the Congress there would be dire consequences worse than 1942? And why have they now gone into the Interim Government? Because, they have received the terms they wanted and the Viceroy has completely surrendered to them and sacrificed the Muslims. How can we place any confidence in the new Government's intentions which they are now professing. I have no hope of this Government giving the Musalmans a fair deal.

Abject Surrender

Asked whether there was any chance now of the League participating in the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Jinnah replied:

"I see no hope of the League going into the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly for it will be nothing but abject surrender and humiliation for us.

Direct Action

I cannot give any indication of the programme to be adopted but we are fully alive to the fact that any programme

that we may put into operation should be based on peaceful means.

Discussing the offer of the Viceroy to the League to nominate League Muslims to replace the three Muslims already appointed to the Interim Government offices and to the two seats which still remain vacant, Mr. Jinnah said:

The principle of parity is gone. The question whether the Congress could nominate a Muslim of their choice is still there and the safeguard which was assured to us in the June 16 Proposal, namely, that no major communal issue should be decided except by agreement of a majority of both the communities, is also gone, to say nothing of other details which were promised by the Viceroy in his offer of June 20 to me.

As to the Constituent Assembly, the Congress have not accepted the basic and fundamental terms of the May 16 Statement and we are told by the Viceroy in his recent appeal that we should go into the Constituent Assembly with our interpretation and the Congress with their interpretation and that the matter be then referred to the Federal Court. So we are to start with a law suit.

Why don't the authors of the proposals say this is the meaning of it and tell the Congress to accept or reject it?

Besides, I see no provision of any reference to the Federal Court except with regard to major communal issues and even there is no provision that the President of the Constituent Assembly will be bound by that. Thus we are left to the tender mercies of the overwhelming majority of the Congress and of the Hindu President who is bound to be elected by that Hindu majority. There is no check, either internal or external, in the long-term plan.

Discussing further the recent communal disturbances, Mr. Jinnah said:

The Musalmans had not only made no preparations to disturb the peace—they were not even able to defend themselves when brutal outrages burst upon them in Calcutta. That is becoming more and more clear from all reliable information that I have received.

Organised Plot

It was an organised plot to discredit the Muslim League and the Muslim League Ministry on the part of the Hindus elated by the doings of Viceroy who chose the manner and time of going ahead with the Interim Government ignoring the League.

Mr. Jinnah referred to Pandit Nehru's visit to him in Bombay and said that he declined to discuss anything else or make any suggestion with regard to anything else except to offer five seats to the Muslim League and made it clear that they would nominate the other nine and that it would not be an Executive Council under the present constitution but a National Cabinet responsible only to the Central Legislature where again the Hindu majority is at least three to one."

Referring specifically to the Calcutta disturbances, Mr. Jinnah said: "If Congress regimes are going to suppress and persecute the Musalmans, it will be very difficult to control disturbances.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said: "In my opinion, there is no alternative except the outright establishment of Pakistan which means freedom both for Hindus and Muslims and will enable them to live peacefully and as friendly neighbours without the help of British arms. We guarantee to look after non-Mulsim and Hindu caste-minorities in Pakistan, which will be about 25 millions, and protect and safeguard their interests in every way. Similarly, there will be about 25 or 30 million Musalmans in Hindustan and Hindustan can similarly guarantee the rights of these minorities.

"That is the quickest way to India's real freedom and to the welfare and happiness of all the people inhabiting this sub-continent. The present situation is that the Congress Governments in eight provinces and at the centre under the present constitution can only carry on under the aegis of the British and with the help of their bayonets.

"The Congress is unfortunately blind and it is playing into the hands of the British and the British will turn around—they are already declaring to the world and utilizing the disturbances to show that if their hold were removed there would be bloodshed, carnage and chaos. The Congress is playing into their hands with one obsession, namely how to down the Muslim League and Muslim India.

Russian Danger

Asked whether he attached any significance to the reports that Russia may have more than a spectator's interest in Indian affairs, Mr. Jinnah said:

"I do believe that Russia has more than a spectator's interest in Indian affairs and she is not very far from India either. It is a serious menace if Britain pursues her present policy of completely eliminating the Muslims not only in India, but in the entire Middle East. In my opinion, it is a very dangerous policy to pursue.

Commenting on China, Mr. Jinnah said: "I see they have been sending messages to Pandit Nehru, I wish they would attend to their own affairs and put their own house in order first.

Mr. Jinnah also revealed that he had been receiving many threats to his life over the telephone and through the post.

The Dawn, September 5, 1946.

915

Statement lifting the ban imposed upon Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq, Bombay, September 8, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah has lifted the ban imposed upon Mr. A.K.Fazl-ul-Haq nearly five years ago.

Mr. Jinnah in a statement issued to the Press says:

"In view of the public declarations made by Mr. A.K.Fazl-ul-Haq on the 1st and 3rd of September and having given his written statement pledging his whole-hearted loyalty, devotion and support to the League unconditionally and as he has followed up these declarations by his letter dated September 3 addressed to me requesting me to lift the ban which was imposed upon him now nearly five years ago; and further in view of his assurance of an honest change-over and of joining the League having already signed the membership form and pledge of the Muslim League which is submitted by him through the Calcutta District League to the Provincial Organisation for its acceptance of his membership as the ban was imposed upon him by me by virtue of my emergency powers, I hereby remove the same hoping that Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq will sincerely, earnestly and selflessly serve the Muslim League, the national, authoritative representative organization of the Muslims of India and our cause, the achievement of Pakistan," (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-132/p.49 & The Dawn, September 9, 1946.

916

Interview to Mr. Ralph Izzard of the "Daily Mail,' Bombay, September 9, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, has released the full official text of the interview which

he gave to Mr. Ralph Izzard of the *"Daily Mail"* from which a few extracts were quoted in yesterday's paper which Mr. Jinnah says are not quite correct.

Mr. Jinnah said: "If the British withdraw both their troops and the interest in the administration as they should, if they cannot manage honourably, we can sort out things for ourselves.

Mr. Jinnah added: "For the peace of India and the peace of the world a fresh start must be made. The wound is too deep and the negotiation of this summer has led to too much bitterness and rancour for us to prolong the present arguments. The slate must be wiped clear and we must begin from the beginning again."

"I shall never now go to London. Mr. Jinnah added "after what has been done by the Viceroy, to plead my case but were His Majesty's Government to invite me to London to start a new series of conferences on an equal footing with other negotiators I shall accept.

"No man can witness the present scenes of bloodshed in India without feelings of sorrow and pain. At the same time if the British insist on doing nothing more than to support the present Interim Government with their bayonets, all I can say is that the Muslims can suffer it, but will never submit to it.

Referring to Pandit Nehru's broadcast, "which is applauded by the Congress news papers as an assurance to the Muslim League on the vexed provincial grouping." Mr. Jinnah said: "These are very vague words. He has made no definite proposals to me: You cannot butter parsnips with words: I have been stabbed and phrases and words will not stop the bleeding.

"What am I supposed to do now? It would be foolish for me to draft a series of demands and risk the possibility of having to retract one or more of them because the Congress refused to accept them. We have reached a deadlock; when Pandit Nehru

came to me recently to offer me five seats in the new Central Government, he refused to discuss any other problem.

Muslims Suffered Most

"The fact remains that Muslims in India have suffered a monstrous perpetration of wrong at the hands of the British Government. To be charitable all I can say is that the Labour Government is too new and inexperienced to understand this problem fully. They have allowed themselves to be tricked by the Congress. They have failed to realise that there are two distinct nations in India. Each has different fundamental characteristics and natural ambitions. I can understand an alliance or treaty between them and they might in certain circumstances unite temporarily to face a common danger. But the idea of a permanent coalition is absurd. As the position now is one distinct nation is placed at the mercy of the numerical superiority of another.

"I see a very dark future ahead. I have received letter and telegrams of sympathy from all over the Muslim world. If relations between Great Britain, America and Russia worsen there is no means of telling now which way Indian Muslims may be stampeded at a time of crisis.

The question we ask is "What have we done to deserve this fate? We have no reason to love the British but in 1942 when the Congress started their resistance movement against you with the enemy at India's border, we refused to join it. At that time I can remember touring Muslim villages where women were reduced to the task of grave digging because the entire manpower of the community was serving with the army.

"We accepted all proposals made to us by the Cabinet Mission: if I appeared tardy it was because I had been empowered only to negotiate and the final decision of refusal or acceptance had to be deferred to the next meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council. If we had later reversed our

decision, it was because the Congress only accepted the long-term proposals with reservations which they refused to clarify.

"If you try to sell me this article", said Mr. Jinnah pointing to a silver ash tray, "and a piece of it is missing: I am entitled to ask you to replace the missing part before I agree to accept it. Subsequent Congress speeches and actions have proved that our course was amply justified.

"Talking of the present wave of rioting throughout India, Mr. Jinnah indignantly disclaimed Muslims were responsible. He said, "prior to August 16, that is Direct Action Day, when the rioting broke out in Calcutta we had issued very strictest instructions through our Press by circular and by letters to local League leaders that there was to be no violence."

"The sole purpose of the day was to explain to the public why Direct Action had become necessary. We are entitled to free speech and to the right to stage peaceful demonstrations. We were attacked by Congress followers because they wanted to stamp out our propaganda and discredit our cause by creating disturbance and then throwing the blame on us."

Defining Direct Action Mr. Jinnah stated that it was passive non-co-operation with the Government. It had not yet been resorted to and the details of the form which it is to take are now being worked out by a special committee in Delhi.

Renunciation by League members of the title conferred by the British was not a Direct Action measure but a protest against the present attitude of the British Government. (A.P.I)

The Dawn, September 11, 1946.

917

Interview to the Press warning that India stands at the brink of the civil war, Bombay, September 10, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, declared in an interview that India stands at the brink of a ruinous civil war involving 400 million Hindus, Muslims and small minorities which only prompt, sincere and skilled diplomatic negotiation could avert.

Mr. Jinnah described the Calcutta and Bombay disorders as "undoubtedly symptoms of the nearness of civil war all over India, and of the pattern which such a civil war might follow".

Already on record in interviews as declaring his readiness to participate in peace conferences in London at which a "fresh start" might be made towards a settlement of the Indian question, Mr. Jinnah discussed difficulties which such a conference would have to surmount and why he felt it should be held.

"We dealt with the Cabinet Mission," Mr. Jinnah said: "Now, therefore, our remedy must lie with those at the top of the British Government.

"Underlings have brought us to a point where we face two choices and only two. One is the choice of a civil war which would ruin the Hindu and Muslim nations alike and from which I hope we can be spared, although we are nearer to it than many persons seem able to realise or willing to admit."

"The other choice is peaceful settlement through negotiation among the leaders from this country and the highest authorities in Britain. This would have to be a conference in which the good of the people instead of the face-saving of individuals would be of paramount consideration. It would need

to be carried out in calm surroundings with sincere determination, honesty and skill."

League Viewpoint

He gave a warning that "every proposal will be looked upon by me from the point of view of its value towards the achievement of the Pakistan demand, while the Congress will look at it from the point of view of avoiding Pakistan and establishing Akhand Hindustan and Hindu raj over the entire sub-continent of India"

"Even more is at stake than the peace of the people of India," Mr. Jinnah said. "This is the sort of situation which breeds world wars. Britain is alienating 100 million Muslims with her present policies. Does not that seem to be a dangerous thing for the peace of the world when we consider what has happened elsewhere?"

"I am not negotiating with Russia nor am I hoping to negotiate with Russia for her intervention in the affairs of India. Any such story is nonsense, if anyone is spreading it. The recitation of the lessons which history teaches does not constitute an invitation to some foreign power to do certain things."

Real Objective

Mr. Jinnah said there is no basis for assertions which have been made that his objective is to achieve a Pakistan which would be a colony of the British Government. "That definitely is not true," he added. "We want an independent, sovereign Pakistan and we will have it."

"These disorders, "Mr. Jinnah said, returning to the subject of disturbances in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, "are not a civil war although they are close to becoming one. The fact that they have been precipitated on the days of Muslim League demonstrations against having the Interim Government forced

upon us is not our doing. We were exercising our right of peace protest and we did not start these disorders. There was an organised, premeditated move to mar the effectiveness of the protest and to discourage the Muslim League." (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, September 12, 1946.

918

Interview to Mr. Henley of Kamsley Newspaper of Britain, Bombay, September 11, 1946.

"The only way out of the deadlock between Muslims and Hindus is for the British Government to make an unequivocal declaration in favour of Pakistan with a clear undertaking that they will implement it without delay." Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League told me when with heavy monsoon rains clattering outside I saw him today in the cosy study of his beautiful Malabar Hill bungalow.

"Why did you refuse participation in the Interim Government, "I began.

"It was not I who refused." he replied. "The Cabinet's original proposal was a coalition of five Congress, five Muslim and two minority representatives. I agreed and Congress refused. To overcome Congress objections to Hindu-Muslim parity, the Mission then proposed the addition of a third Hindu minority representative. I agreed. The Congress refused. On June 16, the Viceroy produced the final formula of five Hindus, five Muslim Leaguers and four minority men.

Agreed Again And Again

"On the strength of the Viceroy's letter to me of June 20 in which he said that no decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of

either party opposed it. I again agreed. Next the Viceroy said that if either of the two major parties were unwilling to join an Interim Government he would form one 'as representative as possible' of those willing to accept the Cabinet's long and short-term plans. I again agreed but the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission scrapped their own proposals of June 16 and went back on their word. And now to appease the Congress we find that the Viceroy instead has invited them, the Hindu Congress party, to set up a Cabinet in which we are offered 5 seats as against (here Mr. Jinnah emphasised his next words by a wave of his cigarette) nine, all nominated by them. Hindu-Muslim parity is rejected. The Congress is free to nominate Muslims of its own choice — an obvious attempt to bring League members away by dangling before them rewards of office. Gone is the safeguard that no major communal issue may be decided by a simple majority."

Mr. Jinnah paused to ferret for a cigarette in the large silver box between us. Then he continued in the same quite unemotional tones:

"Thus not only has the British Cabinet scrapped their own Interim Government proposals but the Congress party has not even accepted the Cabinet's long-term plan as is clear from their published qualifications giving, to take but one example, their own interpretation to the important condition that a province cannot opt out of its group until after the first general election that is to be held under the finally agreed constitution."

"How about Pandit Nehru's recent broadcast assurance that the Congress party agrees that the Constituent Assembly should sit in regional sections," I countered.

No Vague Generalities

"What is wanted is not vague generalities which butter no parsnips," smiled Mr. Jinnah, "but a detailed statement of what the Congress party does or does not regard as binding.

Mere words and phrases do not carry us far. What is required to meet the situation is a definite and categorical statement regarding the point in dispute."

"Your critics allege that your attitude is purely destructive and can only end in civil war," I observed.

"The last thing that I seek is bloodshed," cried Mr. Jinnah roused at last. "Although, if driven to it, no Muslim is afraid to defend himself. Destructive attitude? It is to avoid bloodshed and to create conditions in which India's two nations can live as friendly neighbours that I offer a constructive solution — Pakistan."

919

Released correspondence* with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru regarding the entry of the Muslim League into the Interim Government, New Delhi, October 16, 1946.

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, dated October 6, 1946.

I have consulted some of my colleagues about the matters discussed by us yesterday and over the possibility of rapprochement between the Muslim League and the Congress. We are all agreed that nothing could be happier and better for the country than that these two organisations should meet again as before as friends having no mental reservations and bent on resolving all their differences by mutual consultations and never desiring or allowing the intervention of the British Government through the Viceroy or others or of any other foreign power. We

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* This correspondence was in connection with negotiations, for a League-Congress agreement over the short-term issue, which were initiated by the Nawab of Bhopal.

would, therefore, welcome the decision of the League to join the Interim Government for it to work as a united team on behalf of India as a whole.

The points put forward by you in our conversation yesterday were:

(1) the formula suggested to you by Gandhi,

(2) the League not being responsible for the members at present representing the Scheduled Castes and the minorities,

(3) what should be done in case any vacancy should arise among the members representing the minorities other than the Scheduled Castes,

(4) the procedure to be adopted over what may be called major communal issues, and

(5) alternating Vice-Presidentship.

Regarding No. 1, we feel that the formula is not happily worded. We do not question the purpose underlying it. We are willing, as a result of the elections, to accept the Muslim League as the authoritative representative organization of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India and that as such and in accordance with democratic principles they have today the unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India, provided that for identical reasons the League recognises the Congress as the authoritative organisation representing all non-Muslims and such Muslims as have thrown in their lot with the Congress. The Congress cannot agree to any restriction or limitations to be put upon it in choosing such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress. We would suggest, therefore, that no formula is necessary and each organization may stand on its merits.

Regarding No. 2, I am to say that the question of the League being responsible does not arise and, as you do not raise

any objection to the present constitution of the Government in this respect, there is no question to be solved.

Regarding No. 3, I am to say that if any such vacancy arises, the whole Cabinet will consider what should be done to replace the vacancy and advise the Viceroy accordingly. There can be no question or right in the matter of consultation with the League in regard to the representation of these minorities.

Regarding No. 4, your suggestion about the Federal Court is not feasible. Matters coming before the Cabinet cannot be made subject matters of reference to court. We should thrash out all such matters amongst ourselves and bring up agreed proposals before the Cabinet. In the event of failure to reach an agreed decision, we should seek the method of arbitration of our own choice. We hope, however, that we will act with such mutual trust, forbearance and friendliness that there will be no occasion to go to such arbitration.

Regarding No. 5, it is out of the question to have any rotation in the Vice-Presidentship. We have no objection if you desire to have an additional Vice-Chairman for the Coordination Committee of the Cabinet, who can also preside at such committee meetings from time to time.

I am hoping that if your Committee finally decide upon the League joining the National Cabinet, they will also decide simultaneously to join the Constituent Assembly, or recommend to your Council to this effect.

I need hardly mention that when an agreement has been reached by us it can only be varied by mutual agreement and not otherwise.

(2)

Letter from Mr. M.A. Jinnah to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, dated October 7, 1946.

I am in receipt of your letter of 6th October, 1946, and I thank you for it. I appreciate and reciprocate your sentiments experssed in paragraph 1 of your letter.

With regard to the 2nd paragraph of your letter, point No. 1, the formula, it was accepted by Mr. Gandhi and me and the meeting between us was arranged on that basis in order to negotiate and settle a few other points remaining for the purpose of reconstituting the Interim Government. The formula runs as follows:

'...The Congress does not challenge and accept that the Muslim League now is the authoritative representative of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. As such and in accordance with democratic principles they alone have today an unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India. But the Congress cannot agree that any restriction or limitation should be put upon the Congress to choose such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress as their representative.'

And now, in your letter under reply, not only you have made changes in it but you consider no formula is necessary! I regret I cannot agree to any change in the language or otherwise, as it was the agreed basis of our discussion on other points; nor can I agree with you that no formula is necessary. It was signed by Mr. Gandhi and accepted by me.

As the whole basis of our talk on other matters was the formula agreed to by Mr. Gandhi, I do not think we can make any further progress unless it is accepted by you as a basis upon which we can proceed to discuss other points we have already discussed orally in the course of our conversation and now I am

enclosing herewith a copy of the various points put by me before you in writing.

Even the four points, excluding point No. 1 regarding the formula which I have already dealt with above, you do not agree with any one of them. I am still willing, on the basis of the formula being accepted by you, to further discuss the various points with a view to settle them in the spirit of the sentiments experssed by you in paragraph 1. I am anxious that we should come to our own settlement without undue delay.

Enclosures (9 points)

1. The total number of the members of the Executive Council to be 14.

2. Six nominees of the Congress will include one Scheduled Castes representative, but it must not be taken that the Muslim League has agreed to, or approves of, the selection of the Scheduled Castes representative. The ultimate responsibility in that behalf being with the Governor-General and the Viceroy.

3. That the Congress should not include the remaining 5 members of their quota a Muslim of their choice.

4. Safeguard: That there should be a convention that on major communal issues, if the majority of Hindu or Muslim members of the Executived Council are opposed, then no decision should be taken.

5. Alternative or Rotational Vice-President should be appointed in fairness to both the major communities as it was adopted in the U.N.O. Conference.

6. The Muslim League was not consulted in the selection of the three minority representatives, *i.e.*, Sikh, Indian Christian and Parsi and it should not be taken that the Muslim League approves of the selection that has been made. But in future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities

should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

7. Portfolios: The most important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

8. That the above arrangement should not be changed or modified unless both the major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress—agree.

9. The question of the settlement of the long-term plan should stand over until a better and more conducive atmosphere is created and an agreement has been reached on the points stated above and after the Interim Government has been reformed and finally set up.

(3)

Letter from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to Mr. Jinnah,

dated October 8, 1946.

I received your letter of the 7th October as I was going to Baroda House to meet you there last evening. I hurridly glanced through it and was perturbed by it as it seemed to me to be at variance with the spirit of our talk the previous day. Subsequently we discussed various points and unfortunately could not convince each other.

On my return I read through your letter more carefully and consulted some of my colleagues. They were also disturbed not only by the letter but also by the list of points attached to it. This list had not been seen or considered by us previously. It had little relevance after our talk.

We have again given earnest consideration to the whole matter and we feel that we cannot state our position more clearly than I did in my letter to you of October 6, except for some variations which I shall indicate below. I shall, therefore,

refer you to that letter of mine which represents our general and specific viewpoint.

As I have told you, my colleagues and I did not accept the formula agreed to by Gandhi and you.

The meeting between you and me was not arranged, so far as I was aware, on the agreed basis of that formula. We know of it and were prepared to agree to the substance of that formula as stated to you in my letter of October 6. That formula contained a further paragraph which you have not quoted in your letter:

'It is understood that all the Ministers of the Interim Government will work as a team for the good of the whole of India and will never invoke the intervention of the Governor-General in any case.'

While we still think that the formula is not happily worded, we are prepared, for the sake of the settlement we so earnestly desire, to accept the whole of it, including the paragraph left out in your letter.

In that case you will agree, I hope, that we should make our further position quite clear. It is clearly understood of course that the Congress has the right to appoint a Muslim out of its quota. Further, as I have stated in my previous letter, the Congress position in regard to the Nationalist Muslims and the smaller minorities should not be challenged by you.

In regard to points numbered 2, 3 and 4 in my letter of October 6, I have stated our position and have nothing further to add. We have gone as far as we could to meet you and are unable to go further. I trust that you will appreciate the position.

Regarding No. 5 (the question of the Vice-President), you made a suggestion yesterday that the Vice-President and the Leader of the House (the Central Assembly) should not be the same person. In present circumstances this means that the

Leader of the House should be a Muslim League member of the Cabinet. We shall agree to this.

I am writing this letter to you after full and careful consideration of all the issues involved and after consulting such of my colleagues as are here. It is in no spirit of carrying on an argument that I have written but rather to indicate to you our earnest desire to come to an agreement. We have discussed these matters sufficiently and the time has come for us to decide finally.

(4)

Letter from Mr. M.A. Jinnah to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,

dated October 12, 1946.

I received your letter, dated 8th October, 1946, yesterday in reply to my letter of October 7, 1946.

I regret that you and your colleagues do not accept the formula agreed to by Mr. Gandhi and me.

Mr. Gandhi and I had also agreed that on that basis you and I should meet in order to negotiate and settle a few other points that remained for the purpose of reconstituting the Interim Government. Accordingly arrangements were made for our meeting on the 5th of October.

I am surprised to gather from your letter, when you say, that the meeting was not arranged so far as you were aware, on the agreed basis of that formula. The only formula agreed upon between Mr. Gandhi and me was that which was mentioned in my letter of October 7, 1946. I had not mentioned in my letter, what is referred to by you as paragraph 2, as that was one of the points among others to be further examined and discussed by you and me. This arrangement was actually put on record.

At our first meeting on the 5th of October, we discussed all the points and you informed me that you will let me know the time that will suit you to meet me the next day, but, instead of

that, I received your letter of 6th October, 1946. In this letter you yourself referred to the formula as one mentioned in my letter of 7th October, and expressed your view that the formula was not happily worded and suggested a modification by inserting a proviso as follows:

> "Provided that for identical reasons the League recognises the Congress as the authoritative organisation representing all non-Muslims and such Muslims as have thrown in their lot with the Congress."

or else, if that was not agreed to, you suggested no formula was necessary. There is no reference in your letter to what you describe as paragraph 2 as part of the agreed formula and you yourself dealt with that point quite separately in the opening paragraph of your letter which runs as follows:

> "We are all agreed that nothing would be happier and better for the country than that these two organizations should meet again as before as friends having no mental reservations by mutual consultation and never desiring or allowing the intervention of the British Government through the Viceroy or others or of any other foreign power"

That, in substance, was the idea of paragraph 2, mentioned by you, which among other matters was to be examined and discussed. I also referred to this matter in my reply stating that I appreciated and reciprocated the sentiments expressed in paragraph I of your letter of 6th October, 1946.

I fail to undestand why you and your colleagues should have been disturbed not only by my letter of the 7th October, but also by the list of points attached to it. There was nothing new in that list of points which we had not discussed the first day, as it is clear from your letter of October 6, wherein you yourself have dealt with every one of the points mentioned in the

list that I sent to you. Let me take one by one the points in the list sent to you in writing:

(1) Total number of 14: That was not in dispute.

(2) The Scheduled Castes' representative: That the League must not be taken to have agreed or approved of the selection, which is referred to in paragraph 2 of your letter.

(3) Nomination of Muslims in Congress quota: The matter was discussed.

(4) Safeguard: That was discussed as is clear from point 4 in your letter.

(5) Alternative or Rotational Vice-President: Was discussed and is referred to as point No. 5 in your letter.

(6) Vacancies occuring in the seats allotted to minority representatives: This matter was discussed and is referred to by you in your letter point No. 3.

(7) Portfolios: The matter was discussed.

(8) No change in the arrangements agreed to without the consent of both the major parties: This was discussed and is referred to in the last paragraph of your letter.

(9) The long-term question: This was discussed and is mentioned in your letter, last but one paragraph.

All these points were discussed between us as is mentioned in your letter of the 6th of October, except for some variations which you have indicated in your letter.

Following are the variations and my reaction to them:

(1) That you would accept the formula provided paragraph 2 is included in the formula and is made a part of it.

This constitutes a fundamental departure from the original formula upon the basis of which I had agreed to have discussions with you. I cannot agree to this variation.

(2) Provided that the Muslim League does not challenge that the Congress represents the minorities and the 'Nationalist Muslims' as indicated in terms of your previous letter of the 6th October, and referred to in your letter under reply.

This again is a serious departure from the agreed formula. Besides this is a matter for the minorities concerned.

I note what you say with regard to points 2, 3 and 4 of your letter of October 6, i.e. Scheduled Castes' representative and other minorities; the position about the vacancies occuring in future in the seats allotted to the minorities and the procedure to be adopted with regard to major communal issues. Even with regard to these points there is no agreement between us.

With regard to point No. 5, Vice-Presidentship, I note what you say.

Since you have stated your position after full and careful consideration of all the issues involved and after consultation with your colleagues, I presume that it follows that this is your final stand. I deeply regret that we have failed to come to an honourable agreement of our own, satisfactory to both the parties.

(5)

Letter from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to Mr. M.A. Jinnah, dated October 13, 1946.

I thank you for your letter of the 12th October. In this letter there are a number of misstatements. What you have said does not fit in with my recollection of our conversations or what has taken place during the past few days. I need not, however, go into this matter now as I have been informed by the Viceroy that the Muslim League have agreed to nominate five persons on their behalf as members of the Interim Government.

(6)

Letter from Mr. M.A. Jinnah to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, dated October 14, 1946.

I am in receipt of your letter of October 13, 1946 and I thank you for it.

There is considerable speculation indulged in by the Press and varying accounts are given of our negotiations and the termination of our discussions. I, therefore, propose to release all the correspondence passed between you and me, beginning with your letter of the 6th October and ending with your letter of the 13th.

The Dawn, October 17, 1946.

920

Address to the Members of the Scheduled Castes' Federation at his residence, New Delhi, October 16, 1946.

"I am your friend and I shall always be your friend", declared Mr. Jinnah addressing a gathering of members of the Scheduled Castes, Federation at his residence.

Mr. Jinnah continued, "I did my very best for the Scheduled Castes. It is very easy to make promises and forget them. I believe in action and I assure you that I shall never fail to do whatever lies in my power to help you."

The Eastern Times, October 18, 1946.

921

Statement regarding Noakhali disturbances, New Delhi, October 24, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of All-India Muslim League, in a statement condemned the disturbances in the country and appealed for tolerance.

Mr. Jinnah said: "I was anxious to get some reliable news about the Noakhali disturbances. I feel relieved that there is no foundation for the grossly exaggerated news pregnant with serious repercussions flashed by news agencies. Nevertheless, I condemn the disturbances and disorder which have resulted in loss of life and destruction of property and the brutal methods adopted.

Blot On Fair Name

"I most earnestly appeal to both Hindus and Muslims and other communities to stop this orgy and carnage. It is a blot on the fair name of the two great nations, Hindu and Muslim, with their hoary civilisation and great past.

"We stand discredited already before the eyes of the world, because these disturbances not only have happened in Bengal but in other provinces, such as Bihar, United Provinces, Madras and Bombay. Let us not exploit the situation and make ministries as the shuttlecocks of these tragic events that have taken place all over India.

Protect The Weak

"It takes two to quarrel and it is up to the leaders of both communities to put an end in the name of humanity to what is happening, whatever may be our political quarrels, convictions and ideologies, which we will fight out, but not by these shocking and revolting methods. I must earnestly appeal to Muslims and every Leaguer in particular, wherever they may be to stand by

the principles of Islam, to defend and protect the weak, show complete tolerance and help in every way to restore order and redeem the fair name of Islam. In the same breath, I appeal to every Hindu to reciprocate wholeheartedly and without reserve." (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1021/1

& The Dawn, October 25, 1946.

922

Message to Kashmir Conference, New Delhi, October 26, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah sent the following message to the 15th annual session of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

"My message and earnest appeal to Muslim leadership in Kashmir is: organise your people, educationally, socially, economically and politically and set your hand on constructive nation building programme.

"Stand united, work selflessly, perseveringly and in a disciplined manner and I assure you no power on earth can prevent you from the attainment of Azad Kashmir and the realisation of your just and legitimate rights. Our sympathies are with you in your struggle and I wish your session all success." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, October 27, 1946.

923

Speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the motion regarding Bombing of Tribal Areas in Waziristan, New Delhi, October 28, 1946

Mr. President: There is another motion by the same member, Mr. Tamizudin Khan. He wants to discuss:

"The recent aerial bombing of tribal areas in Wazirstan and the destruction of life and property caused thereby."

This requires the consent of the Govenor General. It has not been received. As the Honourable Member has moved for his consent, we shall have to postpone this motion till the consent is received.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The Governor General is prepared to grant his consent.

Mr. President: The Honourable the Leader of the House informs me that the Governor General is prepared to give his consent.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just been informed by Sir George Spence to that effect. On his authority, I stated that he had received a message from the Goveror General that he was prepared to grant his consent.

Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon (Sind: Muhammadan Rural): Has the Honourable the Leader of the House received the consent?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not recevied the formal consent.

Mr. Abdur Rahaman Siddiqi: The statement of the Honourable the Leader of the House is a vicarious one. He says that so and so tells me that the permission is likely to be given.

Mr. President: In any case I may fix up the motion for 4 o'clock today and in the meanwhile we shall await the formal receipt of the consent.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I merely informed you what I was told but apart from that, how this question arises at the present stage does not appear to be very clear. I have not got this motion before me. I have just heard from you.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Until you have got the consent of the Governor General no further discussion can take place. You cannot deal with the motion until you have got the consent.

Mr. President: I am suggesting that this matter might be taken up at 4, if the consent is received in the meantime.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You cannot do it until this motion has been admitted by you. Therefore all that you can say is this that you can allow it to stand over.

Mr. President: I will have the matter postponed and will consider it when the consent is received. I shall then decide whether it is admissible or not. It can be taken up for consideration tomorrow.

The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1946, Vol: VII, p. 105

924

Released his Correspondence with the Viceroy regarding the entry of Muslim League into the Interim Government, New Delhi, October 28, 1946.

The following letters, exchanged between Mr. Jinnah and Lord Wavell during the recent negotiations, were released to the Press by the League President.

(1)

Letter from Mr. M.A. Jinnah to H.E. the Viceroy,

dated October 3, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,

At the end of our last interview on October 2, 1946, it was agreed that I should finally put before you the various proposals that emerged out of our discussions, for your consideration and reply. Accordingly, I am enclosing herewith the various proposals that have been formulated by me.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure. (Sd.) M.A. Jinnah

(1) The total number of the members of the Executive Council to be 14.

(2) Six nominees of the Congress will include one Scheduled Castes' representative, but it must not be taken that the Muslim League has agreed to, or approves of, the selection of the Scheduled Castes' representative. The ultimate responsibility in that behalf being with the Governor-General and the Viceroy.

(3) That the Congress should not include in the remaining five members of their quota a Muslim of their choice.

(4) Safeguard: That there should be a convention on major communal issues, if the majority of Hindu or Muslim members of the Executive Council are opposed, then no decision should be taken.

(5) Alternative or rotational Vice-President should be appointed in fairness to both major communities as was adopted in the U.N.O. conference.

(6) The Muslim League was not consulted in the selection of the three minority representatives, i.e., Sikh, Indian Christian

and Parsi, and it should not be taken that the Muslim League approves of the selection that has been made. But in future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

(7) Portfolios: The most important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

(8) That the above arrangement should not be changed or modified unless both the major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress—agree.

(9) The question of the settlement of the long-term plan should stand over until a better and more conducive atmosphere is created and an agreement has been reached on the points stated above and after the Interim Government has been reformed and finally set up.

(2)

Letter from H.E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 4.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter, dated yesterday. My replies to your nine points are as follows:

(1) This is agreed.

(2) I note what you say and accept that the responsibility is mine.

(3) I am unable to agree to this. Each party must be equally free to nominate its own representatives.

(4) In a Coalition Government it is impossible to decide major matters of policy when one of the main parties to the coalition is strongly against a course of action proposed. My present colleagues and I are agreed that it would be fatal to allow

major communal issues to be decided by vote in the Cabinet. The efficiency and prestige of the Interim Government will depend on ensuring that differences are resolved in advance of Cabinet meetings by friendly discussions. A Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustments or does not work at all.

(5) The arrangement of alternative or rotational Vice-Presidents would present practical difficulty, and I do not consider it feasible. I will, however, arrange to nominate a Muslim League member to preside over the Cabinet in the event of the Governor-General and the Vice-President being absent.

I will also nominate a Muslim League member as Vice-Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of Cabinet which is a most important post. I am Chairman of this Committee and in the past have presided almost invariably. But I shall probably do so only on special occasions in future.

(6) I accept that both major parties would be consulted before filling a vacancy in any of these three seats.

(7) In the present conditions all the portfolios in the Cabinet are of great importance and it is a matter of opinion which are the most important. The minority representative cannot be excluded from a share of the major portfolios and it would also be suitable to continue Mr. Jagjivan Ram in the Labour portfolio. But subject to this there can be equal distribution of the most important portfolios between Congress and the Muslim League. Details would be a matter for negotiation.

(8) I agree.

(9) Since the basis for participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the statement of May 16, I assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay resolution.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) WAVELL

Note on the Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet sent by the Viceroy.

This Committee was set up in October 1945. It absorbed the War Resources Committee and the Reconstruction Committee, and in the early stages was primarily concerned with questions affecting the transition from war to peace, and with the special short-term objects of preventing economic dislocation or distress.

The Committee is now primarily concerned with economic and industrial questions and deals with many important matters in these fields affecting more than one department of the Government of India. It deals also with matters relating to procedure of Government and with the machinery for general co-ordination and progressing of administrative measures. Though it would be open to a Member of the cabinet to ask that a case should be taken up in the Cabinet proper, final decisions are normally taken to the Co-ordination Committee. In the past the Governor General has almost always presided but he does not propose to do so in future except on special occasions when he is particularly interested.

(3)

Letter from H.E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 12.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I confirm what I told you this evening, that the Muslim League are at liberty to nominate any one they wish for their own quota of seats in the Cabinet, though any person proposed must of course be accepted by me and by His Majesty before being appointed.

My intention is to discuss portfolios when all the names have been received, both from the Muslim League and the Congress.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) WAVELL

(4)

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H.E. the Viceroy, dated October 13.

Dear Lord Wavell,

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have considered the whole matter fully and I am now authorised to state that they do not approve of the basis and scheme of setting up the Interim Government which has been decided by you, presumably with the authority of His Majesty's Government.

Therefore, the Committee do not, and cannot agree with your decision already taken, nor with the arrangements you have already made.

We consider and maintain that the imposition of this decision is contrary to the declaration of August 8, 1940, but since, according to your decision, we have a right to nominate five members of the Executive Council on behalf of the Muslim League, my Committee have, for various reasons, come to the conclusion that in the interests of Musalmans and other communities it will be fatal to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of Congress. Besides, you may be forced to have in your Interim Government Muslims who would not command the respect and confidence of Muslim India which would lead to very serious consequences; and lastly, for other very weighty grounds and reasons, which are obvious and need not be mentioned, we have decided to nominate five on behalf of the Muslim League in terms of your broadcast, dated August 24, 1946, and your two

letters to me dated October 4 and October 12, respectively, embodying clarifications and assurances.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) M.A. Jinnah

(5)

Letter from H.E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 13.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of today's date. I am glad to know that the Muslim League has decided to join the Interim Government. Will you please let me have the names of the five representatives, as they have to be submitted to His Majesty for approval and I should like to reform the Government as soon as possible.

You promised yesterday that you would let me have the names today.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) WAVELL

(6)

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H.E. the Viceroy, dated October 14.

Dear Lord Wavell,

I thank you for your letter of October 13.

I am now sending you names of five nominees on behalf of the Muslim League as arranged in our interview of yesterday:

(1) Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, M.L.A. (Central).

(2) Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, M.L.A. (Bombay), Leader Muslim League Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League.

(3) Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar, Advocate (N.W.F.P.), Member, Working Committee All-India Muslim League, Committee of Action and Council.

(4) Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Punjab), Member, Council All-India Muslim League, Council Provincial Muslim League and Member of the Punjab Muslim League Working Committee.

(5) Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Advocate (Bengal), at present Minister of the Bengal Government.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M.A. Jinnah

(7)

Letter from H.E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 25.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The portfolios that I can offer the Muslim League in the Interim Government are the following:-

Finance, Commerce, Posts and Air, Health, and Legislative.

I should be grateful if you would let me know how you would propose that these portfolios should be distributed among the Muslim League representatives in the Cabinet.

I should like to get an announcement out tonight and to swear in the new members whom I shall warmly welcome tomorrow.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) WAVELL

(8)

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H.E. the Viceroy, dated October 25.

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 25, 1946 communicating your decision regarding portfolios.

I am sorry I cannot say that it is an equitable distribution but we have discussed all the pros and cons and as you have taken your final decision, I need not go into the matter further.

I am sending you below the names of the nominees of the Muslim League showing how these portfolios should be distributed amongst them:

Finance	--	Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.
Commerce	--	Mr. I.I. Chundrigar.
Posts and Air	--	Mr. A.R. Nishtar.
Health	--	Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.
Legislative	--	Mr. Jogendara Nath Mandal.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M.A. Jinnah,
The Dawn, October 29, 1946.

925

Statement regarding Kashmir Affairs, New Delhi, November 2, 1946.

Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President All-India Muslim League issued the following statement to the Press "I have had an opportunity of meeting the deputation on behalf of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and I deeply regret

that the Kashmir Government should have thought it fit to ban the annual session of the Conference.

"It is opposed to the elementary principles of Liberty. The people have every right to meet in a peaceful manner and express and ventilate their grievance and criticise the policy and actions of any civilised Government.

"It is regrettable that the foremost leader of the Conference should have been arrested and detained without any trial and from all accounts that I have received, the Prime Minister, Mr. Kak, and the Government are pursuing a policy of suppressing free expression of opinion and resorting to unjustifiable methods of terrorism and gagging free expression of opinion on the eve of the coming elections.

I therefore, appeal to the Maharaja to interfere in the matter immediately and allow the forthcoming elections to be free and fair and release all the detenus and see that effect has been given to the spirit and the letter of such reforms as he has already introduced."

No Direct Action

Mr. Jinnah continued, "I have discussed with the members of the Deputation, the whole matter very carefully and I gather from them that they have no intention to resort to direct action or unlawful methods. They are anxious and they desire to contest the elections for Muslim seats in the forthcoming elections and every facility should be given to the people by the Government. There should be no interference by the officials and complete freedom, fairness and impartiality should be guaranteed.

"If these conditions are created it will show and the Deputation are confident that they will sweep the boards and prove that the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Musalmans of the State."

Mr. Jinnah concluded: "I appeal to the Muslims of Kashmir to be guided by their unquestioned leader Chaudhuri Ghulam Abbas, who is now under detention and in his absence by Chaudhri Hamidullah Khan, who has been appointed by him as the acting President of the Muslim Conference." (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 3, 1946.

926

Statement regarding killing in the minority provinces, New Delhi, November 3, 1946.

Mr. M.A.Jinnah President of the All-India Muslim League has issued the following statement to the Press: "I have been receiving reports of very grave and serious character of killing and destruction of property from the Muslim minority provinces such as Bihar, U.P., C.P., Madras and Bombay and I assure the Muslims of the minority provinces that it was not due to indifference or neglect that I have been quiet. The matter is receiving my most careful attention and consideration.

Enquiries By The League

"It was arranged that four members of the Interim Central Government should go to Patna. Besides Mr. Mohammad Nauman, M.L.A. (Central) has been deputed by the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly to go to Bihar and enquiries are being made with regard to those parts of U.P., C.P., Bihar, Madras and Bombay where disturbances have taken place, including East Bengal and Calcutta.

"I shall await the reports of our representatives Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar on their arrival here. I naturally am very deeply grieved to hear of the

brutal and outrageous happenings. At present I can only ask the Muslims to remain calm and peaceful and bear it with patience however aggressive or provocative may be the attitude of other people. (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1021/p.3 & The Dawn, November 4, 1946.

927

Address to a meeting of Muslim girl students and ladies, New Dehli, November 3, 1946.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah addressing a crowded meeting of Muslim girl students and ladies fervently called upon them to play their full part in the great political struggle which Muslim India was carrying on. The meeting presided over by Begum Shaista Suhrawardy was held in the Anglo-Arabic College Hall under the auspices of the Daryaganj Ward Ladies' Muslim League.

Scenes of great enthusiasm makred the proceedings of the meeting and shouts of 'Pakistan Zindabad' punctuated the speech of the Quaid-e-Azam. First the Quaid-e-Azam addressed the gathering in Urdu, but later in response to the request of girl students he spoke for some time in English.

Referring to the situation in the country the Quaid-e-Azam said: "It is a delicate moment and you must have read in the newspapers what terrible things are happening. Now you are realising what are your shortcomings and what is your strength."

Task Before Muslims

He continued: "Now the only task left before you is that you should endeavour to make the Muslims a powerful nation which can face the mightiest power of the world"

Quaid-e-Azam said "We do not want war and strife. We want to live in peace. But even to avoid strife we must muster immense power so that others may realise that if they launch war against the Muslims their own losses would be severe and such war would not benefit the aggressors."

The Quaid-e-Azam emphasised and reemphasised that Muslims do not want to be aggressive but they must in the interest of peace be fully prepared to meet every eventuality.

Unity — The Watchword

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to remain united. He said: "Give up the idea of Shia, Sunni, Wahabi. Unity should be our watchword".

The Quaid-e-Azam appealed to the Muslims to get rid of provincialism. He said: "Some say we are Punjabis and others say that they are Bengalis or Delhiwallas. Such attitude is baneful to Muslims. We are but servants of Islam."

Muslim Women's Role

Dealing with the role which women can play the Quaid-e-Azam said: "From the early days of my life when I was a student I believed and I still belive that no nation can make any progress without men and women marching together on terms of equality. It is the duty of every one who loves his people and his country and believes in progress to take women with us in our struggle for Pakistan." He added: "There are certain things which can be done by men. There are others which can be done by women. But both together can do anything and everything".

The Quaid-e-Azam said that the most important work which women should do was to dispel ignorance and to train the new generations of Muslims so that they could become brave and selfless servants of the Millat.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah said that women should also help in building up cottage industries. They should learn the proper

use of money, should help their poorer sisters and brothers and give assistance to the poor sections of the nation.

Banish Evil Customs

The Quaid-e-Azam continued that certain evil customs had crept into Muslim society and were eating into the vitals of its body politic. He said that those customs had neither the sanction of Islam nor did commonsense justify their perpetuation. He appealed to the Muslim women to do away with those customs.

The Quaid-e-Azam said that Islam gives the highest status to women, adding, "I am a believer in the emancipation of women."

Calling the girl students "pioneers and soldiers of Islam" he asked them to go ahead. But he added: "Go slow, do not forget the glorious heritage and traditions of Islam".

The Dawn, November 4, 1946.

928

Address, to the Id Reunion Gathering, regarding Bihar Tragedy, New Delhi, November 5, 1946.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah addressing an Id Reunion Gathering announced that owning to the grave situation in Bihar he had cancelled all his other programme, including his proposed holiday visit to Baghpat this week and would be staying on in Delhi. As soon as he felt that his presence in Bihar would be useful he would immediately fly there.

No doubt this is a festive occasion but we are celebrating it under heavy clouds which cannot be described in words. I cannot express my grief. It is a situation which is staggering in every sense of the word. I do not want to pass judgement or

apportion blame. But there are many lessons to be learnt from what is happening. It is no time for you to indulge in tell talk, for it will not lead anywhere.

"I know the Muslims are brave, but the time has come for them to look to their own house," he said. "Is your house in order? Look into it and answer for yourselves. What have you done these decades? Wherever I go, I hear the cry, "Quaid-e-Azam, we are waiting for your order. I tell you the Quaid-e-Azam, is not going to give the order unless he knows you are prepared. If he did so, he would be a criminal, not a General. Therefore I say to you put your house in order. It is late but it is not too late.

"We have achieved much during the last five years. We have made the Muslim a nation all over India. But much remains to be done yet. Know your weakness, know your faults, search your hearts. See what you have neglected and how you neglected. Remain united, creat discipline. You must look at every nook and corner of society and determine what is to be done. All classes must participate in this task of getting prepared, getting strong. We are not lacking in talent but we have lived an individual life. We have not thought of the common man. What is needed is the revolutionizing of the entire mentality and outlook of the Muslims. Be earnest. Be serious. Be thoughtful."

"Terrible things are happening in Bihar. I do not wish to say anything about it, because it is a delicate situation. Constitutionally and by training I am a cold blooded logician. The first opportunity I get, when I think my going to Bihar will be of use, I shall fly atonce. I will fly tomorrow if I find that it is necessary. I was going to Baghpat but due to the happenings in Bihar, I have cancelled it. I am staying on in Delhi, waiting, watching."

"What is going on all over India is day and night in my mind. I welcome every criticism. The more you criticise, the

more I like it. It is your right. I read every word of every letter that comes to me. I spend much of my time reading, listening, studying."

"I can assure you that I am devoted to the Muslim nation, God help me, I shall not fail you."

Welcome To Mandal

Turning to Mr. Jogandranath Mandal, member of the Interim Government, he said: "I welcome you from the bottom of my heart. I have felt and I feel that your community needs the greatest possible help that anybody can give you. It is a shame that sixty million people should be condemned as untouchables. At the Round Table Conference I fought for your community more than I fought for the Muslims.

In my recent letters to the Viceroy I fought for your community more. I felt that your community was let down becasue you were weak. You are sacrificed to the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. This great Muslim nation could not watch all this without doing anything. I felt that there was the time to show, not by talking but by action, that we meant to help you and to stand by you."

The Dawn, November 7, 1946.

929

Appeal to the Muslims for contributing to the "Bihar Relief Fund", New Delhi, November 6, 1946.

"The titanic and gruesome tragedy in Bihar and serious happenings in some other parts of India, of brutal killing and outrageous destruction of property has resulted in thousands, who have survived, being maimed and wounded, homeless men, women and children fleeing in different directions. I need not go

into the details of sufferings that are involved but at this moment all our efforts should be concentrated on law and order peace and tranqulity."

In the meantime thousands of suffering brethern and sisters must be helped and every possible effort should be made to give them relief that is necessary. So, in the name of humanity, I appeal to everybody to send me your contributions for this relief work without delay. Bihar is the worst and most appalling tragedy and, I propose immediately, to set up a responsible relief committee, who would undertake this work of rescuing, and protecting and making all possible arrangements for the refugees and the homeless. It is hardly for me to emphasise the immediate and urgent necessity of this work.

I therefore thought it fit to appeal for all India funds and no single province or part of India will be able to cope with it by their individual or collective effort having regard to the enormity which we are confronted with. I have opened an account with the Agent, Habib Bank Limited, Chandni Chowk, Delhi, with my personal humble donation of Rs. five thousand.

I most earnestly appeal to every one to make his or her contribution and send the money direct to the Agent Habib Bank Limited, Chandni Chowk Delhi in cash, by cheque, money order, Postal order, Draft etc., and obtain a proper receipt from the bank for whatever amount be sent. I shall supervise this fund and give out such amounts as may be necessary to the committee or committees that may be appointed who I have no doubt, will appoint reliable and trustworthy agents for the purpose.

I repeat again that all subscriptions must be sent direct to the Agent, Habib Bank Limited, Chandni Chowk, Delhi without any delay." (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, November 7, 1946.

930

Rejoinder to the Statement of Mr. Shukla, New Delhi, November 6, 1946.

"I have read in the press the statement of Pandit Revi Shankar Shukla, Premier of the Central Provinces. My allegation is based on reliable and responsible sources of information and not intended, as Mr. Shukla tries to make out, for propaganda purposes. Mr. Shukla and some Congress leaders unfortunately always judge others by their own standards. His statement shows ignorance of or indifference to, what is happening in his province."

"I do not wish to stoop to the offensive and aggressive tone that he has adopted in his statement. I may draw his attention specifically to what has already taken place—and it is not merely harrassment in Jubbulpur, Amraoti, Badnora and Katni. The Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpur and authorities in Amraoti have been apprised of attacks upon unarmed Muslims which have already resulted in some deaths and injuries."

The Dawn, November 7, 1946.

931

Interview to the Arab News Agency, New Delhi, November 7, 1946.

The hope that shortly a conference may be held in New Delhi, which will be attended by leading representatives of all Muslim Countries was expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League and Leader of India's 9,00,00,000 Muslims, in an interview with the Arab News Agency's special correspondent.

Mr. Jinnah recalled that the suggestion that such a conference be held, had originated in Cairo and had been welcomed by the Muslim League. "The purpose of this meeting", he stated, "was to provide an opportunity for the Muslim leaders of India to meet Muslim leaders from Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Levant, Iran and all the other countries where Muslims predominate. All these peoples have many interests in common and much would be gained for mutual cultural and ideological understanding and advancement through the contacts such a meeting would give.

"The Conference would not be a political meeting in the sense that the Bloundan Conference was. It would be inevitable, I should think, that political problems would be discussed at such a gathering and it would be a good thing for us to hear and understand the political problems of other countries.

We all have our own problems and the knowledge how one country has dealt with the problems peculiar to it would be beneficial to us and the others in forming our approach to a similar problem, so, from that aspect also, good would come from such a meeting.

Closer Ties With Mid East

"To be effective it would require to be attended by influential representatives—leaders of the countries which will attend—and active exploratory discussions are now taking place to find out whether it is feasible at this time—that is during the winter when India is at its best."

Mr. Jinnah emphasised that closer ties between Muslim India and the Middle East were very desirable particularly in view of the participation of the Muslim League in the Interim Government of India.

"The Muslim League has joined the Interim Government to safeguard the interests of Muslims and other communities," he said. "As the Interim Government was

constituted by the Viceroy prior to our participation in it, the administration of Government of India was entirely in the hands of caste-Hindu-dominated Congress. And the Muslim nation has nothing—absolutely nothing—in common with Caste Hindus.

"Not only is there a complete lack of community of purpose between Muslim and Hindu, but in many vital aspects of our individual and national welfare, Hindus are antagonistic to Muslims. Under these circumstances, we considered it would be fatal to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of Congress.

"There was the further reason that in the absence of Muslim League representatives, the Central Hindu Government and the Viceroy might have included Muslims who did not command the respect and confidence of Muslim India. This could—as indeed it did—lead to very serious consequences.

Two Nations

"It created a feeling of tension throughout India which has created the conditions in which there have been very serious communal disturbances. Thousands of people have died and been injured in these troubles which are still continuing in different parts of India.

"Under modern conditions, a Government's influence and activities touch practically every aspect of our lives. Therefore it is essential that a Government should have an interest in the development of the community as a whole.

"Caste Hindus do not have that interest in Muslims. By history, by tradition, by religion, by every factor, they are a completely distinct people from the Muslim. So if the Muslim nation was to continue the progress which has followed its awakening six or seven years ago, if it were to survive at all we decided that it was vital that we should nominate our representatives to the Interim Government. They have taken

office and are in charge of the portfolios of Finance, Commerce. Posts and Air, Health and Legislative.

"That is the position today. I cannot foretell the future. In my view, the Muslims and the Hindus cannot co-operate any more—or come into closer association—than they have done so far. In my view, they are two entirely separate nations who must approach their destiny as two separate nations". (Globe)

The Dawn, November 8, 1946.

932

Address to the Members of Punjab Medical Relief Team sent for the riot victims in Bihar, New Delhi, November 8, 1946.

"My best wishes are with you. You must start the work in right earnest and with the sole purpose of serving humanity. If you need me there I shall fly to Bihar any moment. I have opened a relief fund and I will do all I can to help you in your task."

The Dawn, November 10, 1946.

933

Interview to Miss Cummings of the 'Christian Science Monitor', New Delhi, November 9, 1946.

"The Muslim League has not agreed to the basis of the scheme for the Interim Government. It has been imposed by the decision of the Viceroy with the authority of His Majesty's Government" declared Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President of All-India Muslim League, in an interview with Miss Cummings of the

"*Christian Science Monitor*" in New Delhi and released to India through the Orient Press.

Mr.Jinnah said "The Congress went into the Interim Goverment and manoeuvred to get the British Government to ignore and bypass the Muslim League and it would have been fatal to our interests if they had been allowed to be there in sole charge of the administration. We were therefore forced to nominate our five sentinels to watch over and safeguard Muslim interests."

"The Muslim League has decided to go into this arrangement in exercise of their rights under the decision taken by the British Government, in order to safeguard their interests in the day to day administration, under the present constitution, which was enacted as far back as 1919 and according to which the present Executive Council of the Governor-General is functioning", Mr. Jinnah added.

Referring to his conviction that the only solution of the Indian problem was Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said, "The solution is to divide India into two great independent states by separating Muslim India from Hindu India as Pakistan and Hindustan."

Maintaining that the North-West and the North-East parts of India are Muslim homelands where the Muslims are in an overwhelming majority of over 70 per cent and that the South-West where Caste-Hindus are in a majority of roughly 60 percent, is Hindu India. Mr. Jinnah said "Pakistan is the true road to freedom and independence of this sub-continent and its two great nations, the Hindus and the Muslims".

The Dawn, November 10, 1946.

934

Statement on the atrocities of Bihar, New Delhi, November 11, 1946.

This is not the time for me to add anything to what is already so very clear to every honest thinking and intelligent man. There is no limit to the false propaganda that is being carried on to throw the blame on the Muslim League and the Musalmans for what is happening in various parts of India. There is no foundation or justification for making wild and false allegation against the Muslim League, but this is not the moment for me to deal with them or pass judgement.

I know that the Musalmans have suffered heavily and are suffering, but the tragedy of Bihar has eclipsed what are mere specks elsewhere. I condemn brutality in any shape or form, but the Bihar tragedy has no parallel or precedent in this record of cold-blooded butchery of the Muslim minority in various parts of the country committed by the majority Hindu community.

While I can quite understand that there is a grave provocation and deep resentment among the Musalmans of India, I wish to caution them that retaliation or vengeance in Muslim majority provinces for what has happened in Bihar, and is happening in other parts of India, will be a terrible catastrophe and a blunder on our part, both morally and politically, and we shall be only playing in the hands of our enemies.

Claim For Pakistan

If you really want to achieve Pakistan, I may pray to God that Muslim honour should not be sullied by inhuman degrading and brutal happenings of the kind that have taken place in Bihar. We should not sink low in the scales of civilization, morality and humanity. While our hearts may bleed for the suffering, we cannot sanction cowardly inhuman

massacres of the innocent in other places where Muslims happen to be in majority.

We must prove politically that we are brave, generous and trustworthy: that in Pakistan areas the minorities will enjoy the fullest security of life, property and honour just as the Musalmans themselves—nay, even greater.

If the Musalmans lose their balance and give vent to the spirit of vengeance and retaliation and prove false to the highest codes of morality and teachings of our great religion, Islam, you will not only lose your title to the claim of Pakistan, but also it will start a most vicious circle of bloodshed and cruelty, which will at once put off the day of our freedom and we shall only be helping to prolong the period of our slavery and bondage.

Muslims' Generosity

I am glad that so far the Muslim majority provinces have been peaceful and immune from this virus of holocaust and I hope and trust that they will not lose their balance and will not stoop to the spirit of malice, revengefulness or retaliation, however deeply they may feel from what they read and hear of the terrible happenings especially in Bihar.

I, therefore, most fervently and earnestly appeal to the Musalmans, wherever they are in majority, to do their best to protect and defend the non-Muslims and do everything that lies in their power to create a complete sense of security and confidence among the non-Muslim minorities.

The sufferings of the Muslims in the minority provinces and the terrific death roll and the butchery that has taken place will not go in vain. This sacrifice will, I am sure, establish our claim of Pakistan. Those who have died, been wounded and suffered the loss and destruction of property may take some

consolation that they have suffered and made their contribution for our freedom and the achievement of Pakistan.(A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1021/p.9 & The Dawn, November 12, 1946.

935

Statement at a press conference attended by foreign correspondents, New Delhi, November 14, 1946.

Muslim League President Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared that in his view "the only solution" to India's present communal situation "is Pakistan and Hindustan," and said that he meant "absolute Pakistan—anything else would be artificial and unnatural."

"As soon as Pakistan is achieved," he told representatives of the foreign press, "this tension which exists, and will continue—that one nation is going to rule the other—will cease. These minorities will then settle down as minorities. They will realise that minorities can live only as minorities and not as a dominant body."

Mr. Jinnah, who said that he had given the press conference because of a number of individual requests by foreign correspondents, added:

"At present the position is this: That the minorities in Muslim zones naturally do not want Pakistan, because with the backing and dissension of Hindus all over India, they are encourged and are dominating Muslim majorities."

"Once they realise that they have to live as minorities, then I think you will have really a stable and secure Government in Pakistan and Hindustan. Why should there then be a national quarrel? The position is reduced to a much smaller plane, that

is, how best can the minorities be protected and safeguarded in the two states.

"Unless you say we are reduced to bestiality I do not see any reason why the Muslim majority in Pakistan should not deal with the minorities in a most generous way."

Asked when the League Council would be summoned, Mr. Jinnah commenced: "I cannot say." Pressed further he said that he "could not discuss the matter now for state reasons—it is not in the public interest just now."

Bombay Resolution

Unless the League's Bombay Resolution withdrawing acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan is removed, the League boycott of the Constituent Assembly scheduled to open on December 9 remains in force.

Of the Interim Government, Mr. Jinnah said in response to questions that the Muslim League Ministers were there "as sentinels who would watch Muslim interests in the day to day administration of Government."

He also commented that "this Government should not be allowed to do anything administratively, by convention or conventions which would in any way prejudice or militate the problem of the future constitution of India, and we shall continue to resist every attempt which would directly or indirectly militate or prejudice our demand of Pakistan."

Asked if he favoured abandoning the Interim Government, Mr. Jinnah replied: "I have said this: It was forced upon us. The present arrangement I do not approve of."

Labour Government Blunder

He made it clear that the British Labour Government "has blundered already seriously, and are blundering, living in a dreamland in the policy they are pursuing, may be with the best

of intentions. The British Government is groping in the dark. They think there is some other easy solution."

Mr. Jinnah dismissed Pan-Islam as "exploded bogey" and declared, "Whatever others might say, I think that these two States of Pakistan and Hindustan, by virtue of contiguity and mutual interest, will be friends in this sub-continent.

"They will go to each other's rescue in case of danger and will be able to say 'hands off' to other nations. We shall then have a Monroe Doctrine more solid than in America.

"I am not fighting for Muslims, believe me, when I demand Pakistan. Pakistan and Hindustan alone will mean freedom to both Hindus and Muslims.

"The Plan for Pakistan, called for a popular representative Government in which every child, no matter what his caste, colour or creed, will have equal rights."

Asked what would happen in the next six months or a year when the Congress and the League are not agreed on the question of the division of the country, Mr Jinnah said, "What happens is what you see. You have been witnessing what is happening."

Exchange Of Populations

Mr. Jinnah made a direct reference to the present disturbances when he said: "The exchange of populations will have to be considered seriously as far as possible, especially after this Bihar tragedy."

Answering another question, Mr. Jinnah said that the Interim Government was not a Cabinet and it was not a coalition. It was, he said, the Executive Council of the Governor-General formed under the Government of India Act of 1919.

"A coalition as I understand it, "Mr. Jinnah said, "can only be formed when there is a sovereign Parliament composed of two or more parties, who form themselves into political

parties, formulating policies that they think are in the interests of their nation, both external and internal, and when there arises a national emergency these parties concentrate on those issues which endanger national interests of the people.

"Of course, in such a coalition, there is joint and collective responsibility. They work together provisionally until the crisis or danger is averted. That is my view of looking at it constitutionally."

Nehru's Status

"In the foreign Press it is given out," said Mr. Jinnah "that Pandit Nehru is Prime Minister and that it is Pandit Nehru's Government and I also hear Pandit Nehru described as Vice-President.

"There have been Vice-Presidents since 1919. Under the present constitution the Viceroy has to appoint a Vice-President and his function is only to preside in case the Viceroy is unable to preside over the Executive Council."

Asked about Indian States, Mr. Jinnah said that the demand for division into Pakistan and Hindustan was confined to British India but the States at a later stage would be free to join either Pakistan or Hindustan.

"My own view is let these states develop for themselves. It is a matter now between the rulers and subjects. The States of course will have to advance. In course of time I think there will be complete self-Government in the States, quicker than we imagine because of events in British India."

Dawn's Position Defined

Asked if he agreed with a statement made in "Dawn," Mr. Jinnah replied: "It is very often said that 'Dawn' is my paper and sometimes it is described that whatever 'Dawn' says is inspired by me or the Muslim League organization.

"Let me tell you it is absolutely untrue. No doubt 'Dawn' follows the Muslim League policy. It is a Trust, it does not belong to the Muslim League. As a trustee, no doubt, I have to manage and direct the Trust, but I assure you I have never interfered with my Editor as a trustee or otherwise. If there was any serious fundamental departure from Muslim League Policy, then naturally I would interfere."

The Dawn, November 15, 1946.

936

Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebration of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, November 17, 1946.

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah addressing the gathering paid warm tribute to Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan and his colleagues for the courage, perseverance and the spirit of sacrifice displayed by them during the difficult period of test and trial through which the Jamia passed, at the main function of the Silver Jubilee celebration of Jamia Millia Islamia.

The Quaid-i-Azam said, "Muslim India has made Jamia its own institution by giving it her support. "Now the workers of the Jamia need not pass sleepless nights and worry for money because, I am sure that the co-operation and the support of the Muslims would be forthcoming."

He said: "Jamia is a growing institution and I have no doubt that it is a National Muslim University. It has become the pioneer of the movement of Muslim National education and its example might be followed in other parts of India."

Novel Institution

Turning to Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "You have built up the institution which is entirely novel

and may show the road to the right kind of education to be given to the children. I am glad that you survived the crisis, which threatened the very existence of the Jamia and today Muslims are gathering round you."

"But," the Quaid-i-Azam said, "I must also tell you that in the past there were misgivings about the Jamia and prejudices and misunderstandings take time to be removed. The only way for you is to prove by your actions that they were not based on facts."

The Quaid-i-Azam said: "Unfortunately Muslim India was dead but a great awakening is sweeping the nation which very few people realise and understand. We have realised the importance of education without which no nation can achieve greatness. I hope that you will fulfil the need of the Muslim nation."

The Dawn, November 18, 1946

937

Statement on the question of participation of Muslim League Members in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, November 21, 1946.

I deeply regret that the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government have decided to summon the Constituent Assembly on 9th of December. In my opinion it is one more blunder of very grave and serious character. It is quite obvious that the Viceroy is blind to the present serious situation and the realities facing him and is entirely playing into the hands of the Congress and is appeasing them in complete disregard of the Muslim League and other organisations and elements in the national life of the country.

In these circumstances it is obvious that no representative of the Muslim League will participate in the Constituent Assembly and the Bombay Resolution of the Muslim League Council passed on July 29 stands. By forcing this meeting of the Constituent Assembly the matter has been further exasperated and a situation has been created which will lead to serious consequences.

I want to make it clear that no representative of the Muslim League should attend the Constituent Assembly summoned to meet on the 9th of December, 1946. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 22, 1946.

938

Statement regarding relief work for Bihar victims, New Delhi, November 23, 1946.

I have appointed a Central Muslim League Relief Committee consisting of Khawaja Nazimuddin, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, the Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam, Mr. Jaffer Imam, M.L.A. (Bihar) and Mr. Mohammad Yunus, and have placed at their disposal such funds as are available at the present moment and I shall continue to help the Committee financially and otherwise in every way possible."

"I know that there are various bodies already working for the relief of the refugees, particular among them being the Provincial Muslim League of Bihar, but it is necessary that there should be complete co-ordination and this purpose can best be achieved by the efforts of this Central Committee.

"The object and purpose of this Committee will be to give relief to the refugees in the shape of food, clothes, shelter and medical aid. I, therefore, appeal to the Muslims of Bihar to work in complete co-operation with this central body and I hope

that there will be no hindrance put in their way by the authorities as their work is purely humanitarian and that the Committee will be given every possible help and facility in their mission.

Gigantic Task

"According to realiable and responsible information received by me the task of relief and rehabilitation of the refugees and others who have been the victims of the massacre is a gigantic one and it is not possible for any private persons individually or collectively or for any non-official organization to tackle it.

"The central and provincial authorities, must therefore, take immediate steps in this direction and the Governmental machinery must be put in action. The Muslim League organization will do all in its power to assist in this task and problem and I strongly urge upon the Viceroy to take effective measures for the relief and rehabilitation of about 1,50,000 Muslim refugees in Bihar.

"I wanted and would have gone to Bihar personally, but after careful consideration I came to the conclusion that at present it would not be advisable for me to do so. I hope that the Muslims of Bihar and other provinces where they are in a minority would understand me; my heart is bleeding. But let them rest assured that the Muslim League and I would never allow the Muslims in minority provinces to be left to themselves and we will do everything that is possible to help them whenever and wherever we can". (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 24, 1946.

939

Speech at a Press Conference, Karachi, November 25, 1946.

Addressing a Press Conference Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, said: "In view of the horrible slaughter in the various parts of India, I am of the opinion that the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population to avoid brutal recurrence of that which had taken place where small minorities have been butchered by the overwhelming majorities." Mr. Jinnah made this statement in reply to a question seeking proposals for the restoration of peaceful atmosphere in India.

He added: "The Viceroy—because he alone can do it—as the representative of the Crown and the Governor-General with the powers that are vested in him, should adopt every means and measure to restore firstly peace and order.

"In the present conditions there is no room for reason, intelligence and fairplay. Negotiations in these conditions can hardly yield fruitful results and produce a settlement satisfactory to both parties."

In reply to a question about the acceptance of the long-term plan of the British Cabinet Mission by the Muslim League, as a condition precedent to their entry in the Interim Government, mentioned in the Viceroy's letter to Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah said:

"It is quite clear, as I have already said, that the Congress has not and never had accepted the long-term plan embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Mission of the 16th May, and clarified by their statement of 25th May.

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself has made it clear in his letter to Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, which I quoted in my letter

to the Viceroy, and so has Mr. Gandhi. These pronouncements were made as recently as 30th September and 23rd October.

"Further, I have never for a single moment conveyed to the Viceroy anything, by way of assurances or otherwise except that the long-term plan could only be considered and decided by the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

"From the very beginning until we nominated our five representatives I told the Viceroy that the settlement of the long-term plan could only be taken up when a proper friendly atmosphere was created between the two major organizations.

Congress Intransigence

"The Congress has not budged an inch and the Viceroy repeatedly made it clear to me that it was no use discussing this matter further with any hope of persuading the Congress to make an unequivocal statement accepting the long-term plan as embodied in the statement of 16th and 25th May."

Questioned what the Muslim League proposed to do with regard to the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Jinnah remarked:

"We hope we shall be able to live. But I do not see how any one could have persisted in this idea to go on with the Constituent Assembly in these circumstances and more especially in the terribly explosive atmosphere that has been created by the wholesale massacre in different parts of the country and particularly in Bihar.

"It is sheer recklessness and folly to pursue this path and I regret to say that the Congress leaders and the Congress annual session at Meerut have done their best to add more fuel to the fire."

Mr. Jinnah referred to the speeches made at the Meerut session of the Congress and said:

"As regards the recent fulminations of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru against the Muslim League and false

accusations, I can only say that there is not an iota of foundation for it.

Nehru's Oaths

"Pandit Nehru in assuming his office took two oaths. One of them was an oath of allegiance to King Emperor and he was playing to the gallery when he calls us the King's Party and accuses that we are helping the imperialistic British Government. It is utterly untrue.

"Secondly even a man of the meanest intelligence can understand that he himself took the oath and was sworn in a categorical manner as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. It is as plain as pike staff and it has been repeatedly made clear, especially in the broadcast of the Viceroy on September 2, that he has formed this Interim Government under the present constitution, the Act of 1919, which is in operation.

"He also made it clear that he would give maximum freedom to the members of the Executive Council in the day to day administration. It is a sheer flight of imagination and fiction to call it a cabinet, a national government, or even a coalition.

Mere Fiction

"Even the Congress Working Committee is called cabinet and some-times I see in some quarters the Muslim League Working Committee is called a cabinet. By giving a name you do not make it a cabinet in the constitutional or legal sense. Nor can you vest it with powers of a real cabinet by including in fiction, myth and imagination.

"It is obvious that Members of the Executive Council have been selected community-wise. It can, therefore, only function in terms of the Government of India Act of 1919 so far as the day to day administration is concerned. Such limited powers and opportunities as there are in the day to day

administration can be utilised for the good of the peoples generally. We have gone there only for that purpose but there comes the wishful thinking of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He wants to shut his eyes in ostrich-like manner and think that the Government of India Act of 1919 does not exist.

"In the flight of his imagination he thinks this is a truly National Government responsible to the people and electorate. Not only he imagines that he can function in that way, but he expects everybody else to do so.

"The real truth is that if he can only come down to the earth and think coolly and calmly, he must understand that he is neither the Prime Minister nor is it a Nehru Government; he is only a Member for the External Affairs and Commonwalth Department."

League Must Resist

"So long as Pandit Nehru and the Congress think that by the instrumentality of such powers as are vested in the Interim Government, by means of his majority or by machination and manoeuvres, they can torpedo the Pakistan demand or do things bit by bit which will prejudice or militate against a settlement of the future constitution, the Muslim League must resist every step and every measure that is taken with an eye to make more and more difficult the settlement of the future constitution.

"Pandit Nehru and the Congress expect the Muslim League nominees or the Muslim League to act according to their orders as a subservient body. That again is an impossible position for us to accept.

"We cannot take orders either from Pandit Nehru or from the Congress, and so long as the policy of the Congress is to torpedo the Pakistan demand both by working inside the Executive Council and outside, and so long as the Congress does not recognise the Muslim League on a completely equal footing,

it is difficult for us not to resist and combat the first and as to the second we cannot be expected to occupy a subservient or subordinate position under the Congress."

What Cabinet Means

When his attention was drawn to the fact that the Viceroy himself had called it a cabinet in his official correspondence, Mr. Jinnah remarked: "Yes, the Viceroy was pressed that it is no use calling it an Interim Government and Pandit Nehru was very keen on his word 'cabinet.' And the Viceroy saw no real objection if it pleased Pandit Nehru when they assumed office. Little things please little minds and you cannot turn a donkey into an elephant by calling it an elephant."

Asked by a Pressman about his reaction to Sardar Patel's speech at the Meerut session of the Congress, the Quaid-e-Azam said:

"Sardar Patel is a strong man as they said and therefore he uses strong language but words do not break bones. If he means by using the phrase 'the sword will be met with the sword' that the minorities should be butchered by majority all over India, it is an appalling prospect. All I can say is that he does not seem to realise that any one who encourages this sort of thing is the greatest enemy of every community.

"Where has Sardar Patel got his sword? The Congress Ministries and those who are sitting now as Members of the Executive Council will not be able to function if they were not under the protection of the British bayonet."

Sind Issue

Speaking about his visit to Sind, Mr. Jinnah said:

"I have come to Sind to help the Muslim League in every way I can to fight these elections. I have just arrived and I have not yet been able to decide as to my programme but we are

determined to win every seat. Cent per cent is our target and I will do all I can to achieve that result.

"Then alone could you have a stable government in Sind which, I think, is the only hope for Sind. It is not only unwise but dangerous in this province that efforts should be made to disrupt the Musalmans and set up a puppet Muslim Premier and Ministers who will act as marionettes, according to the wishes of the Hindus whose votes and support only can keep them in that position.

"I appeal to every sensible man belonging to other communities not to encourage this in order to disrupt Musalmans by various methods."

In conclusion, Mr. Jinnah spoke of the Muslim League attitude to the minorities and said:

"I want to repeat and emphasise that we shall not depart from the cardinal principle of the Muslim League of giving every safeguard and protection to the minorities and the Muslim League and myself will deal with the minorities in Sind and elsewhere in the fairest possible manner.

"I would impress upon every one that if you wish Sind to prosper and if you really desire the true welfare and progress of all communities in Sind there is only one way and that is be fair to each other and establish a spirit of co-operation and harmoney so that we may work together for the man in the street who is often forgotten." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 26, 1946

940

Message to the Muslims of Sind, Karachi, November 29, 1946.

Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah in a message to the Muslims of Sind asks them to close their "rank and file and stand solidly behind the Muslim League".

"Vote and support the official Muslim League candidates. Do not be misled by any one who pretends to be a Leaguer, who defies League discipline and fights against the official Muslim League candidates", warned the Quaid-e-Azam.

The following is the full text of the message:

"I had intended, according to my programme to tour round during my stay in Sind in order to do all that was possible to help the official League candidates, but suddenly new and important developments have taken place of a very vital character, which have compelled me to cancel my programme in Sind and go to London at the invitation of His Majesty's Government. I have to leave on December 1 for London where we have to tackle grave issues concerning Muslim India.

"I am sorry that now I shall be away during these elections and shall not be able to go into the interior of the province. In these circumstances, my message to the Muslims of Sind generally and the voters in every constituency particularly is that they should support the Muslim League candidates and nobody else. The fate of Sind is hanging in the balance, so close your rank and file and stand solidly behind the Muslim League. Vote and support the official Muslim League candidates. Do not be misled by any one who pretends to be a Leaguer, who defies League discipline and fights against the official League candidates. Such people are the enemies of the Muslim League and Muslim India and I want the Muslims of Sind to beware of them.

"If we fail, the consequences will be most disastrous and it will mean a terrible setback for us in our struggle for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan.

"I, therefore, ask you to trust and follow my advice without reserve. Vote solidly for the Muslim League and we must have a stable Government and carry cent per cent of the Muslim seats. I know you will not fail or disappoint me and I wish you Godspeed.

The Dawn, November 30, 1946.

941

Speech at a Public Meeting, before his departure for London, Karachi, November 29, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a largely attended public meeting here said that in view of the vital political developments in the country he was going to London where he would tackle the grave issues concerning Muslim India.

He urged Sind Muslims to work for solidarity and rally round the League by returning all the thirty-five League candidates to the Sind Assembly. He warned them not to part with whatever power they hold now in their possession and conduct a peaceful fight against non-League Muslims.

"It was unfair, said Mr. Jinnah, "for Hindus to adopt questionable methods and disrupt the League ranks. Those fighting against the League were their enemies and Sind Muslims should beware of them. Mr. Jinnah said that Islam did not teach them to oppress the weak. It was therefore, their duty to protect the minority community in Sind."

The Dawn, November 30, 1946.

942

Interview to Reuter, Cairo, December 1, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah told Reuter in Cairo that he was going to London with the assurance from the British Premier, Mr. Clement Attlee, that "the whole Indian situation will be reviewed at a round table conference." He added "I shal freedom of India's 90,000,000 Muslims and never submit to a constitution which would result in subservience of Muslims under Hindus."

Mr. Jinnah denied the allegation that the Muslim League was in a tow with British Imperialism in obstructing India's independence. He said bluntly "are we going to transfer slavery under British raj to a similar position under Hindus? The answer is no. The only solution of the Indian problem is Pakistan."

The Dawn, December 2, 1946.

943

Press Statement after Meeting with King Farouk of Egypt in Cairo, London, December 4, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah said that he was very happy that he had met King Farouk of Egypt in Cairo and Azam Pasha, General Secretary of the Arab League. He discussed at length with Mr. Azam Pasha the Muslim League policy in India. Mr. Jinnah was also delighted at the great Muslim demonstration made in his honour at Basra.

The Eastern Times, December 5, 1946.

944

Interview to Reuter's political correspondent regarding United Nations' decision supporting the case of Indians in South Africa, and the Indian situation, London, December 4, 1946.

The Muslim League President Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who was in London for the Indian leaders' constitutional talks with the British Government, discussed with Reuter's political correspondent the United Nations' decision supporting the case of Indians in South Africa.

He appealed to Muslims to "keep calm, follow my advice and protect Hindus and other minorities in provinces and places where the Muslims are in majority."

Tall, elegant, immaculately dressed Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, in an exclusive interview at Claridges Hotel, reminded me that this was the course he had repeatedly urged upon his followers.

"Our cause is a righteous one," he observed. "We want our freedom and also freedom for Hindus and other minorities in India. Therefore, we cannot fail in achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan."

Discussing the sitution in India, Mr. Jinnah observed that it was "very grave."

"It remains to be seen," he added, "what His Majesty's Government will do to tackle the rapid and new developments that have taken place in India.

"I feel that unless His Majesty's Government lay down a firm, clear and definite policy to meet the situation, which is dangerous, things will get out of hand and may lead to very disastrous results."

Mr. Jinnah said that he thought the time had been reached now when no patching-up would do. "Drifting an indecisive attitude and shutting our eyes to realities will bear no fruit," he said.

"I am convinced that the only solution for India's problem is Pakistan which means freedom and independence not only within Muslim India but equally for Hindu India."

Mr. Jinnah considered that unitary or united India or a Federal Central Government would be impossible to work if it were forced upon 100,000,000 Muslims.

Caste-Hindu Raj

"For," he emphasised "it will mean for the Muslims a transfer from the British domination to that of a caste—Hindu raj as they will have an overwhelming—no political majority—of three to one, a communal, religious majority, which will be a perennial force with which they can overrule every time not only a majority of Muslims but even their unanimous decisions."

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah said that he hoped His Majesty's Government would now be convinced in the light of what had happened during the past few months and would take a clear-cut decision because that alone would establish a stable and secure Government in the two independent States—Pakistan and Hindustan."

Mr. Jinnah said that he had no doubt that these two would live as friendly States in their mutual interest by virtue of contiguity and in the interest of the safety of the whole sub-continent of India. (Reuter)

The Dawn, December 5, 1946.

945

Message for American People through American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), London, December 13, 1946.

"I know that the people of America are deeply interested in India. I send you my cordial greetings on behalf of Muslim India and I feel we have your good wishes. As you know, of the many races, creeds and religions that inhabit the vast sub-continent of India, there are two major nations—the Hindus and the Muslims. Hundred million Muslims cannot be characterized as a minority. We are 70 million in the North-Western and North-Eastern zones of India; we constitute a majority of 70 percent against the Caste-Hindus in these homelands of ours.

"We want the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan because that is the only practical solution, which will secure freedom for both Hindus and Muslims and the achievement of stable and enduring governments of Hindustan and Pakistan, which I am confident will settle down as friends and neighbours like Canada and the United States and other sovereign States both in North and South America.

"Hindu India and Muslim India must be separated becasue the two nations are entirely distinct and different and, in some matters, antagonistic to each other. Let me tell you some of the differences. We differ in our history, culture, language, architecture, music, laws, jurisprudence, calendar and our entire social fabric and code of life.

"One India is impossible of realization. It will inevitably mean that the Muslims will be transferred from the domination of the British to the Caste-Hindu rule—a position that Muslims will never accept. As an all-India minority, we shall be under the rule of the permanent Hindu majority of about 3 to 1, which will virtually mean one nation ruling another by means of the ballot-box. The writ and fiat of such a Government will neither

command respect, nor acceptance and allegiance and such a Government will, therefore, be impossible. It can only function by force but will never secure the willing approval and sanction of the 100 million Muslims. Unless the gravity of this aspect of the problem is realized and tackled frankly and boldly by the British Government,—chaos is inevitable which must have serious repercussions and endanger the world peace.

"Our scheme of division of India gives Hindus three-fourths of the country and the Muslims secure a dominant voice in the remaining one quarter of India, thereby giving the two nations scope and opportunity to develop in accordance with their own culture and ideology, so as to contribute to the peace and advancement of the world as a whole.

Muslim desire freedom more than anyone else becasue love for freedom, fraternity and liberty is the life-blood of their existence—but freedom must mean freedom both from British exploitation and Hindu domination. Hundred million Muslims will never agree merely to a change of masters.

QAP-F-21/pp.78-80.

946

Speach at a Meeting held under the auspices of the Muslim League Branch in Great Britain, London, December 13, 1946.

(Mr. Jinnah spoke slowly and haltingly at first. His opening sentences were difficult to hear, as the microphone was not working properly.)

"I am glad that the British people have awakened a bit. It is the tradition of the British nation that they only wake up when there is something dangerous," said Mr. Jinnah.

"The Cabinet Mission came to India in March and tried to understand the situation there and after lots of conversations and discussions they put forward what is known as a long-term and a short-term scheme. The Congress did not accept the Long-Term proposals in fact. They 'accepted' on their own terms with reservations and with their own interpretation of one of the most fundamental and basic points—known as the grouping clause. To our disappointment the Cabinet Mission took an attitude which, to say the least, was most amazing. What did they do? They accepted what I would have characterised as non-acceptable and they passed out to the world and actually misled the British Parliament that the Congress had accepted the Long-term Scheme.

"They said in effect our original proposal is 5-5-2 but now we must make it 5-5-3 or five Muslims, five Hindus, one Sikh, one Christian and one Parsi. This was intended really to placate the Congress. The cause is difficult for an average Englishman to understand unless he has been in India for a long time. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy evidently thought that if they had one Parsi, then it might appease the Congress becasue there was every likelihood that the Parsis would support them. When that was suggested the Congress turned it down again. Then we were told that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy would announce their own proposals. These were made known on June 16 and were known as the Short-Term Scheme. We were also told that this was final and that it was up to the Congress to accept or not and to the Muslim League to do the same.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, you will be surprised to hear that the Congress did not accept.

"When the names were announced the Congress said: "We do not accept the nominees you have chosen. We want this substituted and that substituted.'

"The Congress also said: 'We do not accept that there should be any safeguard for Musalmans.' With regard to any major communal issue, an assurance was given—and it applied to both and not only to Muslims—that if there was any major communal issue upon which there was disagreement and if the majority of Muslim or Hindu members were opposed to it then it should not be forced.

"They also said: 'We cannot accept it on various grounds. We are not going to accept the Short-Term Scheme which you have announced to the world as final, and they rejected it on June 25. On the same day we accepted.

"Then there was another amazing fact. You have not yet been able to understand exactly what was the influence which made the Cabinet Delegation not only to scrap it on grounds, which, in my judgment, and I think it is the judgment of many impartial men, it was nothing but a perversion of the true meaning of the construction of paragraph eight.

"They said: 'Now we shall begin afresh.' When we complained that this was most unjust and unfair and added: In that case postpone the 'Long-Term Plan.' the Cabinet Mission said 'No—preparations had gone too far ahead and they must proceed.' That was an interpretation revolting and repugnant to commonsense. On that construction the Congress had accepted the Long-Term and rejected the Short-Term Plan.

"Their attitude was 'We must scrap the thing and begin afresh.' But I want you to understand that the Congress did not even accept the Long-Term Plan and yet it was passed off as their acceptance. It is very difficult for me in my language to speak about it to you this evening. It was a betrayal of the Muslim League and Musalmans—betrayal. Then what did we find. It was postponed for a month. Preparations for the Constituent Assembly, however, were to go ahead. Naturally we protested. We issued statements but do not know whether they reached you here or not, but we made our decisions clearly.

A Voice in Wilderness

"About the end of July a proposal was sent for the Interim Government—a fresh one. I do not want to worry you about the details of it, but it was a fundamentally and entirely different one. It was a landslide as far as the Muslim League was concerned—a going down, a descent and such that we were unable to accept.

"In the meantime, we were making it clear that the Congress had not accepted the Long-Term Scheme but ours was a voice in the wilderness.

"On July 18, your Parliament met and on the floor of the House of Commons a version was given to you which is half true and misleading. It concealed the true state of affairs, but nothing happened.

"We had to consider this very serious position with which we were faced. We called a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and met on July 29. In the meantime, pronouncements of Congress leaders were made known and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the worst of the lot. They said: 'We are going to the sovereign Constituent Assembly. We will decide what we think proper.' As to the scope of the proposed union, it was confined only to three matters. "They were Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it clear that it was the Constituent Assembly to take any decision they liked. We have no alternative except to withdraw our assent that we had given on June 6. But we said that later on we were willing to consider a change in the formula of the Indian Government and our assent to the proposals embodied in the statement of June 16, which were the final proposals of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy.

"We came to the conclusion that there was no room for reason, intelligence or fairplay."

Throwing wide his arms in a characteristic gesture of despair, Mr. Jinnah said:

"I am sorry to say that your delegation has throughout, at every critical stage, really worked under the fear of incurring the displeasure of the Congress. Why?" He answered his own question by adding: "Because the Congress at every critical stage, now and then, had the fundamental policy that they would resort to mass civil disobedience at any moment they thought necessary. We have made concessions. We have given up a lot for these reasons.

"And believe me I am telling the truth—we think an amicable and peaceful settlement is far better even if we have to sacrifice something substantial for it."

This statement was greeted with loud applause.

Mr. Jinnah continued: "we thought that we would make our sacrifice on the altar by achieving the freedom of all of us. Let me tell you the Congress has been adamant. It has not budged an inch. (Cries of shame). Unfortunately for our country and our people they are going headlong on a mad career." (There was an interruption when someone shouted "hear, hear.")

"The Congress are responsible for obstructing the freedom of the people of India," Mr. Jinnah said, "What is it we want? What are our utmost demands? The answer is Pakistan." (There were shouts of "Zindabad" from the audience.)

Mr. Jinnah went on to explain what he meant by Pakistan. "What is Pakistan?" he said. "What is so terrible about it? How is it going to harm Hindus or prejudice them."

What Pakistan Means

"In the north-west and north-east zones of India which are our homeland and where we are in a majority of 70 percent against Caste-Hindus, we want a separate state of our own. There we can live according to our own notions of life. The

differences between Hindus and Muslims are so fundamental that there is nothing that matters in life upon which we agree.

"It is well known to any student of history that our heroes, our culture, our language, our music, our architecture, our jurisprudence, our social life are absolutely different and distinct. We are told that India has been one for a long time. I tell you that the so-called one India is British-made. It was made by the sword. It can only be held by the sword as it has been held...Do not be misled by anyone saying that India is one and why, therefore, should it not continue to be one. What we want I tell you is Pakistan. Pakistan presupposes that Hindustan should also be a free state.

What Hindus Gain

"What would Hindus lose? Look at the map. They would have three-quarters of India. They would have the best parts. They would have a population of nearly 200,000,000. Pakistan is certainly not the best part of India. We should have a population of 100,000,000 —all Muslims. What is the objection to these proposals of ours? We should be free. Let me say these are big states. How many states are there in this world with a population of 100,000,000? You see it is not a small thing. Let us live as good neighbours with the Hindus just as America lives in a friendly way with Canada and many of the states in North and South Americas.

"Unfortunately Europe has not shown this spirit, but nevertheless it is not a big propositon to suggest that the whole of Europe should be one and that there should be one Government? I know many idealists who desire it. But they also desire that the whole world should be one and that there should be one Government.

It is a noble ideal, but such ideals are not achieved easily. Then, I say, what is the objection to Pakistan? The only

objection is that Hindus want the whole. If the whole is agreed to them then we are reduced to nothing but a minority.

"Therefore, the problem is—is Britain going to stand with its bayonets and hand over authority to the Hindu majority? If that happens, you will have lost every cent of honour, integrity and fairplay."

Democracy—Muslims' Blood

"Democracy is alien to the Hindu society. I do not want to show any disrespect for any other society, but the Hindu society is caste-ridden and caste-bound. The untouchables have no place socially, economically or any way at all.

"Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans, who look upon complete equality of manhood. I give you an example. Very often when I go to a mosque, my chauffeur stands side by side with me. Musalmans believe in fraternity, equality and liberty.

"How can a minority put a stop to a majority? It is bunkum. We are not putting a stop to a majority. But we are entitled to establish our government.

"Sooner the British Government and the people of Great Britain realise the truth and actual conditions in India, the better will it be not for your nation, but for the Hindus and the Muslims. It is, therefore, for the British Government not to evade the truth, but to face the problem boldly and frankly. If you go on like this there might be a terrible disaster difficult to control.

"Review the whole position. There is no other way unless you want to triumph at the cost of thousands of lives. There is no other way but to divide India. Give Muslims their homeland and give Hindus Hindustan."

Cabinet Mission

"We are within the orbit of constant discussions and negotiations. There was no room for argument. Every time

someone in the Congress said: 'No, something else had to be done immediately.' In those circumstances they thought there was no course for us to take but to resort to poser politics. For the first time since 1906 the Council of the League decided on a different policy. The Viceroy took no notice of anything we said. I do not know who was responsible for this."

League By-passed

"The next step was that the Muslim League was ignored and by-passed and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was summoned to form the Interim Government.

"We were still ignored and by -passed and a government was formed. In his broadcast the Viceroy said: 'I understand there is a complaint of the time and manner in which I have formed the Government.' It was not only a complaint; it was a dangerous course for him to have taken. He issued an appeal when he told us; 'There are five seats for you, if you like to come in.' You can imagine what feeling there was in the Muslim League at the time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was summoned to form this Interim Governemnt. It was given out in big head-lines all over India—I may tell you that nine-tenths of the Press is the Hindu Congress—in a manner which was bound to excite anyone. But on July 27, we had decided to change our policy and to resort to Direct Action—a big change of policy and we decided to tell our people of this on August 16.

"At the moment this was announced there was a meeting at the Viceroy's Lodge. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was summoned and it was astonishing that nothing happened anywhere but in Calcutta.

"In the Press and broadcasts were issued statements explaining that the only purpose of the Muslim League was a change of policy, but there was bloodshed at Calcutta and in another part of India before August 16.

The Muslim League has only 26 per cent of the population in Calcutta. That would not have been the ideal place to select, if we wanted to cause bloodshed. Why did it happen? The Committee will give their verdict, but I must tell you this much. A few days after August 16, many meetings were held by the Muslim League in Calcutta and Bengal leaders nipped this thing in the bud.

"We came here to discuss the situation. When Pandit Nehru came here the Congress future in India was already decided and he came only because he had been asked by the Viceroy.

"While this is the case the British can say and do say that there can be no room for discussion or negotiation while one part has already decided on its course for the future, what is the position about the British Statement? The Cabinet Mission were the authors of the proposals and should keep to their words."

Confused Position

"Here they say that the Congress may refer the whole matter to the Federal Court as early as possible. As I see it, the coming of Pandit Nehru and the Muslim League from India has meant nothing. The Congress are going on as nothing has happened. Once again, the people are being confused. It is being said that no action should be taken as we are still at the stage of negotiation and that anything we say will spoil a compromise.

"The Congress is going ahead and treating the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body. What do the British now want the League to do? What can we possibly do? Do not be misled. It is only when this is decided that anything can be done—it is also clear that we are in a position where there is nothing we can do."(Reuter)

The Dawn, December 15, 1946.

947

Statement at a Press Conference, London, December 14, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah indicated that if the Congress unequivocally accepted the British Government's interpretation of the Grouping clauses in the Cabinet Mission's constitutional proposals for India, he would certainly have to call his Council. He added that he could not, of course, say whether his Council could decide to enter the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah reaffirmed Pakistan as the goal of the Muslim League and agreed with the Conservative leader Mr. Churchill's predictions that things would get worse in India "if Britain did not act boldly and frankly."

Questioned about his impression of the two-days India debate in the House of Commons this week, Mr. Jinnah replied: "My impression of the debate generally is that light is dawning on the tremendous mess that already has been made and, I think, Parliament is in a better position now with regard to some of the facts than they were during all previous months."

Asked if the League's goal was complete independence, he replied: "What do you think we are fighting for? The goal of complete independence is Pakistan—certainly."

Another questioner asked Mr. Jinnah—who was accompanied at the conference by his colleague, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan—to give his reaction to the paragraph in the India statement of the British Government on December 6 to the effect that it did not contemplate forcing upon the minorities any constitution in the framing of which they were unrepresented.

Replying, Mr. Jinnah said: "Suppose the Federal Court decides against the interpretation of H.M.G. what will H.M.G. do with regard to the Constituent Assembly? Is it to proceed on the basis of the interpretation given by the Federal Court,

contrary to the interpretation of H.M.G? In that case the Muslim League could never accept it."

A questioner suggested that there was a feeling in London that the Muslim League was not prepared to submit the principal question separating the parties to the Federal Court.

What Proposals Are

Mr. Jinnah replied: "If you ask me why we always have been averse to being a party to a reference to the Federal Court on this point, it is because the authors themselves (the British Cabinet Mission and the Government) ought to know what the proposals are. I say it is not a matter for a court. A mediater making a proposal should know what he means and should say, if there is any doubt in anyone's mind: 'I will make it clear.'"

Mr.Jinnah added that besides this was a fundamental basic point—it was the very foundation of the scheme. "It is not a justiciable issue," he said. "I tell you I will trust no court to decide on a point like this."

One Pressman put a dual question. If the Congress accepted the proposals laid down by the British Government, he asked, would the Muslim League be willing to take part in the Constituent Assembly, and in that case would it be willing to agree with the Congress that the Assembly was a sovereign and autonomous body not subject to outside interference?

Mr. Jinnah answered the first part by saying that if the Congress unequivocally accepted H.M.G.'s interpretation of December 6, certainly he would have to call his Council. He indicated that he could not anticipate a decision of the Muslim League Council.

Brute Majority

Mr. Jinnah thanked the questioner for the second point. "It is all very well to talk in this loose way on the position of the Constituent Assembly," he said, going on to tell his audience that

the Congress, with 292 supporters—there might be a few less—in the Asssembly, certainly had a "brute majority," whereas the Muslim number was 79.

Mr. Jinnah added" "That is what people understand when they talk of democracy. As between the Hindus and the Muslims, there is no such thing as democracy. It is a majority of one nation that can overrule the unanimous decision of any other nation, because they are 79 and the Congress are 292.

"In the perilous position that the Muslims will be, we do not want any outside interference, in the sense that somebody should tinker with us, but there must be some provision within the scheme itself which will prevent a brute majority taking the bit in its mouth and running away. But to treat it as a sovereign Constituent Assembly taking decision after decision and then presenting the poor Muslim minority, the British Government and the world with a *fait accompli* - there is the real danger."

"Does that mean that the Muslim minority wants to continue a veto on progress?" asked the questioner.

"That is often said but it is absurd," answered Mr. Jinnah, "Unless the majority of one nation can take what decisions it likes, the moment you do not agree you are exercising your veto and you are intransigent. In that case the majority is to grind down the minority completely, and the minority has no remedy".

Agreement Essential

Mr. Jinnah asked his audience if it was ever known anywhere in the world of a constitution that worked successfully without being framed with the willing assent of major elements that lived in the land. "Even the machinery will not work unless it has the goodwill, co-operation and honest desire of the people."

"When people said that the Muslims were placing a veto on the advance of the majority, he asked: "What majority do you

mean? If you mean the Hindus, we wish them godspeed. Go ahead—establish your Hindustan, frame your constitution for the Hindus. Leave us alone and we shall frame a constitution for Pakistan.

Asked if he were advocating separate Constitutent Assembly for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said that he had always done so.

Referring to the Congress and the Muslim League participation in the present Provisional Government, he said that the Congress had made its intentions clear—that whatever the constitution, they were going to act as a cabinet with joint and collective responsibility, and a responsibility only to the Legislature where they have overwhelming majority and to no outside authority. "When we say we cannot allow that," declared Mr. Jinnah, "we are criticised as the King's party and agents of British imperialism."

Mr. Jinnah added that while the question of the framing of the future constitution was still unsettled, the new Central Government "would go ahead with measures which will torpedo completely our demand for Pakistan and separation."

Future Constitution

Mr. Jinnah made a point that the Government statement of December 6 suggested that if the Indian political parties intended to refer the chief points at issue to the Federal Court, "it will then be reasonable that meetings of the Sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until decisions of the Federal Court are known."

Mr. Jinnah said that he did not know whether the Congress would consider it reasonable to postpone the meetings of Sections of the Constituent Assembly until the decision of the Federal Court was known. "So we are now hung up." he observed.(Reuter)

The Dawn, December 15, 1946.

948

Statement at the airport before leaving for home, London, December 15, 1946.

Before Quaid-e-Azam entered the plane he said" "We are grateful to all from the Prime Minister downwards whom we have met for their great kindness and hospitality. However serious and acute our differences may be with the policy which His Majesty's Government are pursuing, we thankfully acknowledge their kindness, courtesy and hospitality. The Government Delegation and the Viceroy discussed matters with us frankly and so did the Prime Minister and we have tried to make them understand and realise the gravity of the situation in India."

"We have given our advice to all as representatives of the All-India Muslim League, which is the authoritative representative organisation of the Muslims of India. I have met many prominent members of our League Branch here, including office bearers, and I was pleased to meet them. They are doing their bit here and I wish them success. There is only one word for them - unity".

The Dawn, December 16, 1946.

949

Statement on his arrival in Cairo, Cairo, December 16, 1946.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, declared on his arrival in Cairo from London that for India's Muslims "there is no other way than Pakistan." "Recent developments," he said, "have shown that by hook or by crook

Congress meant to bring 100,000,000 Indian Muslims under their yoke."

Mr. Jinnah stated that he had rejected all other proposals made at the conference, saying, "I am more convinced than ever that there is no other door open except to achieve Pakistan or submit to Hindu slavery."

Asked whether India would sever relation with Britain, Mr. Jinnah replied "that is a question Indian Muslims will have to decide. We are free to decide whether we will remain in the British Commonwealth or not."

He said he could not anticipate the Muslims final decision at this stage, but added, "We shall look at it from one viewpoint; is it in our interest to do so?"

He described the present Indian situation as "dangerous." Mr. Jinnah welcomed the idea of a conference of Middle East States put before him at Cairo.

"I am anxious that Egypt should understand what Muslim India is struggling for, and that it is important for Egypt as for the Indians" Mr. Jinnah said, "If we succeed in achieving Pakistan, it will be good for Egypt."

Declaring that Egyptians had been misled by false Congress propaganda, he appealed to them to take a greater interest in Muslim India and to study the problems of India's future constitution.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah told *Reuter* that he was returning to India after his recent London talks strengthened in his belief that the Muslims of India would be able to achieve Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah is spending three days in Cairo to "acquaint himself with what Egypt is going through, especially with regard to the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations."

Mr. Jinnah added: "I am also most anxious that Egypt should understand what Muslim India is struggling for and how important it is for Egypt if we succeed in achieving Pakistan and how dangerous it is if we fail."

Asked to elaborate on this statement, Mr. Jinnah declared: "It is only when Pakistan is established that we (he meant Indian and Egyptian Muslims) shall be really free; otherwise there will be the menace of a Hindu imperialist Raj spreading its tentacles right across the Middle East.

The Dawn, December 18, 1946.

950

Interview to the Egyptian State Broadcasting Service, Cairo, December 18, 1946.

The Cairo Radio Broadcast the following item in Arabic on Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's visit to the capital of Egypt from its own representative. The English rendering of the piece is as follows:

At present Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah is on a visit to Egypt on an invitation from the Arab League. Facilities for studying Indian Muslims affairs are meagre for the Egyptians in this country. The Egyptian State Broadcasting Service deputized Mr. Ahmed Abdul Ghaffar to interview the Indian leader on the affairs of the Muslims in India. The following is our representative's report of his interview with the Indian leader:

The leader of the Indian Muslims is.... yet he is quick-witted and sharp-eyed..... He makes the best of the words he choses to express himself. He talked to me in quiet and measured tones. In his presence I felt a warmth of his strong political career. As he spoke to me I could feel the grandour of his mission. I could easily understand that he was a gallant fighter

for the rights of his co-religionists in India. I asked him about his mission....He kept silent for a while, then touched his forehead and brushed his white hair with his fingers. Then puffing at his cigarette he started speaking with a deep voice.

He said India is a vast continent. "Throughout her past history, India did not have one Central Government. None of the ruling dynasties which held sway in India from time to time were able to unite the different communities and races inhabiting the vast continent. The British at present have advised the Indians to form a Central Government with headquarters at Delhi. But the Muslims are suspicious of such a move. If the United India policy becomes a reality it will mark the end of the hundred million Muslims inhabiting the country.

Free Muslim State

"We have demanded, said Mr. Jinnah, "free States to be governed by the Muslim majority in the north and east of India. That is what we call, Pakistan. We have resolved to establish two Muslim States in those parts of India. In the Pakistan zone we will be able to safeguard the heritage of Islam and all the glory of our culture and civilization, without any interference from others. The rest of India will be under the Hindus. They will be free to govern those regions as they like and as their culture or civilization requires them to act . The Muslims and the Hindus are two major nations of India, and are entirely different from each other.

"The Muslims in India have their codes of civilization, morality, society and of all branches of life which go to make a nation distinct from the other. We have our own law, culture, music, and religion. If India remains undivided it will mean a Hindu majority of three to one. The Hindu majority will be able after sometime to wipe out Muslim culture and Islamic civilization, which has been preserved by the Indian Muslims with the greatest care through the ages."

Mr. Jinnah added: "The Pakistan question is most vital to the Indian Muslims. It is a life and death question. The Hindus are divided into castes and groups. One of them will belong to a particular caste or creed and will live as a member of that caste only. Hindus, who belong to the higher castes look down upon the Muslims as not quite equal in rank. The Hindus who boast of democracy cannot possibly explain away their ages-old treatment of the untouchables. The untouchables refuse to be governed by high caste Hindus."

The Dawn, December 28, 1946.

951

Speech at a tea party given in his honour, Cairo, December 18, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah told guests at a Cairo tea party given in his honour by Secretary of the Liberal Constitutional Party, that "If a Hindu empire is achieved, it will mean the end of Islam in India, and even in other Muslim countries. There is no doubt that spiritual and religious ties bind us inexoribly with Egypt. If we were drowned all will be drowned."

The Dawn, December 21, 1946.

952

Speech from the Egyptian State Broadcasting Service, Cairo, December 19, 1946.

We are fighting to achieve Pakistan. You ask me of course what is Pakistan and why we are determined to establish Pakistan. India is a big continent and it never had one government in all its history. It is a country composed of many

nations, and it can never be united or its peoples be one nation. In their declarations the British are willing to convey Government powers to the peoples of India. Muslims are thereupon galvanised as to what will happen to them. The Muslims are one hundred million people there. We mean by Pakistan the North West and the Eastern regions of India, our homes where we lived for centuries. We are seventy million in these two regions, with thirty million of non Muslims. We want those two regions to be separate where possible, and to establish a Muslim Government dominating their territories. We want to live as a free and independent people our own life and to preserve all that Islam stands for. This means one fourth of the country, and the three fourths will go to the Hindus where they will live also as a free and independent people their own life according to their philosophy, culture and social order based on Hindustani rites.

Muslims and Hindus are the two major nations in India. They are totally different and distinct in the essentials which affect everything that matters in life. Not only are we different and distinct but we are sometimes antagonistic. We, the Muslims, have our history, culture, language, legislations and jurisprudence, music, architecture, calender, social and educational life, which totally differ from that of the Hindus.

One India, or a united India, means the establishment of a large India where the Hindus will—with the majority of three to one—dominate and rule the Mussalman nation. This will mean as time passes to strangle the very existence of Muslims in India. We, as a nation, will be doomed to perish. It is therefore a matter of life and death to one hundred million Muslims who strive to preserve their lives, to have an independent and separate state in these two regions where there is a solid majority of Muslims.

The philosophy of Hindus, their culture and social life are wholy based on caste system. One is born in one's caste and

die in one's cast. They are the most exclusive people, and no one from a lower caste can be admitted in a higher caste or be treated, socially and economically on equal footing. Muslims are considered by the high Hindustani castes as *Malich*. There are sixty million of the untouchables who, though they profess to be Hindus, are inadmitable in high caste society of Hindus. They are treated economically and socially as serfs. Democracy is foreign to Hindu society. Those untouchables are caste-ridden, and cannot enter or be admitted in other caste. It is even worse in the case of Moslems, for they are considered from the point of view of history, culture and economy as pole descendants. As the Muslims believe and act according to the essential principles of equality of mankind, of fraternity and liberty, for they are basically a democratic nation, there is no common ground on which the Muslims and the Hindus can meet in everything that matters in life. They are totally two different nations. There is no hope therefore, even at a distant future, that they will be homogeneous or united.

We have lived there for thousands of years, and the so-called one India is only a means of British domination and British rule that preaches the maintaining of peace and social order. It is unthinkable that these two nations, which are totally different in everything, can participate in one government administration where the Hindus have three votes against one of the Muslims.

The popular democratic conception of government is to sanction the will of the people behind it. Such a government as may be composed of Hindus and Muslims will be artificial and unnatural, and can never gain the respect and confidence of the people or be obeyed or honoured. If decisions will be taken as regards legislation and administration by poll-box, this will be disastrous, for they will not stand the shock of test or trial, and will in no time divide acre and acre the opinion of the two nations put artificially together in one government dominating the whole sub-continent of India. The only solution is therefore

to separate Muslim India from Hindustani India, and to establish an indepdent government for each, so that they can live as good neighbours.

The only straight way to solve this question of India is therefore to establish Pakistan and Hindustan. Our scheme means liberty to both the Hindus and the Muslims, a scheme which puts a speedy end to the British domination of India, while Hindu ambitions and dreams in One India means, as far as we are concerned, to transfer the bondage from British imperialistic domination to Hindu imperialistic domination, a position which Muslims cannot and will not accept. In other words, the Hindus want the whole and all instead of two thirds of India. Two thirds of India will be a powerful country for they mean two hundred million people with a majority from 85% to 90% of Hindus with a territory and a population which no sovereign country, except perhaps China, enjoys. This while Muslim India will have one fourth of the population with a Muslim majority of 70%. Our scheme is therefore more just and fair to both whereas the Hindu scheme means death to one hundred million Muslims politically, socially, economically and in everything that matters in life and all that Islam stands for."

QAP-F-785/pp.200-202

953

Statement at a Press Conference, Cairo, December 19, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League reiterated his belief, at a Press Conference, that failure to achieve Pakistan in India meant imperilling the Muslims and Arabs in the Middle East.

He said: "If India will be ruled by Hindu imperialistic power, it will be as great a menace for the future if not greater, as the British imperialistic power has been in the past.

"Therefore, I think the whole of the Middle East will fall from the frying pan into the fire. The Middle East countries want to be free and self-governing and not subject to spheres of influence."

Mr. Jinnah said: "I depend upon nobody to achieve the Muslim aim—Pakistan—neither Britain nor agreement with the Congress party."

Asked what the relations between Britain and any Pakistan state would be, if Pakistan were achieved, Mr. Jinnah replied: "There could not be Pakistan under a British protectorate. Pakistan must be independent." He added, however, that it would be up to India's Muslims to decide whether or not Pakistan would be a part of the British Commonwealth.

Asked about his talks with Egyptian officials and Muslim leaders, Mr. Jinnah said they were "very keen to understand the Hindu-Muslim situation and expressed their sympathy to the Muslim cause".

"I told them of the danger that a Hindu empire would represent for the Middle-East and assured them that Pakistan would tender co-operation to all nations struggling for freedom without consideration of race or colour," Mr. Jinnah said.

Answering to a question concerning his feelings about Egypt's demand for unity with Sudan as compared with the Hindu-Muslim problem, Mr. Jinnah said the two cases had no resemblance.

The Dawn, December 21, 1946.

954

Statement at a Press Conference, Karachi, December 21, 1946.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, said at a press conference that unless and until the Congress, unequivocally accepted the interpretation of December 6 of His Majesty's Government, there was no occasion for him to call a meeting of the Muslim League Council to revise its previous decision.

His statement was in reply to a question bringing to his notice the remarks of Sir Stafford Cripps in the course of the debate in the House of Commons that Mr. Jinnah was prepared to put the matter before the Muslim League Council with a view to ascertain whether on the basis of the statement of December 6 the League was now prepared to enter the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah said, "if it was reported that Sir Stafford Cripps said in the course of the debate that after the statement of December 6 the Muslim League would call the Council meeting, that was not exactly what he said, but I have made it quite clear both to the British Government in the course of our discussions and in my press conference which I gave a few days before my departure from London that unless and until the Congress unequivocally accepts the interpretation which has been categorically and definitely put upon the statement of May 16, there is no occasion for me to call the council meeting. What can I put before the council until the Congress have agreed to the statement of May 16 and December 6 of course it will then be for the Council to decide what action we should adopt."

Mr. Jinnah said it was not true that any change was made in the statement of December 6 after it was read out to him and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nahru by the British Premier Mr. Clement Attlee. "It is not true that anything was added

afterwards." he said "It is possible that Pandit Nehru did not quite catch the last part."

Asked for his reaction to Mahatma Gandhi's advice to Assam to withdraw from the Constituent Assembly after it went into sections, Mr. Jinnah said "Mr. Gandhi says different things at different times. Of course he is suffering from impenetrable darkness and one does not know how to take what he says from time to time.

"I am sorry I have to criticise Mr. Gandhi, but he himself admitted that I was carrying on negotiations with Pandit Nehru in Delhi, he had gone back on it on the ground that he had made a blunder, and that he was getting weak. It is now difficult to attach importance to what Mr. Gandhi says."

Question: In B and C groups, will the minority representatives have the same privileges and rights on issues affecting their interests as Muslims will have in framing the union constitution? What is the status of provincial units in framing the group constitution?

Mr. Jinnah:-"I am not here to interpret. The statement of May 16 is there, as also the interpretation of December 6."

Farewell To British

When Mr. Jinnah was asked what would be his solution in the absence of an understanding on this point, he said "my own opinion is that the only solution for India's problem is Pakistan which will finally enable us to establish stable and independent governments of Pakistan and Hindustan and I am confident that we shall then obtain conditions which will enable us to live as good friendly neighbours.

I think we shall be able to say farewell to the British as quickly as possible. Then we shall be in a position to tell any aggressor whoever it may be "Hands off India". That has been my view and is so today.

Welcome In Egypt

Giving his impressions of the London Conference, Mr Jinnah said "at long last truth is dawning on the British statesmen, the public and the Press".

Mr. Jinnah said his visit to Cairo was political in the sense that he wanted to understand what was happening in Egypt and to exchange views with the leaders of public opinion there. He had also tried to make them understand what was happening in India.

He had received a warm and cordial welcome from all classes and parties in Egypt.

Referring to the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations, Mr. Jinnah said his own sympathies were, as those of every rightminded person should be, on the side of Egypt.

He was anxious that Egypt should secure a settlement which was in her interest. He could not venture to say anything more at this moment as negotiations were proceeding.

Mr. Jinnah said he also found a great deal of sympathy and support among Egyptians for the aims and aspirations of the Indian Muslims. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, December 22, 1946.

Another Version

"I have made it quite clear to the British Government in the course of my discussions, that until and unless the Congress unequivocally accepts the interpretation which has been categorically and definitely put upon the statement of May 16 by the declaration of December 6, there is no occasion for me to call a meeting of the League Council, "declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing a press conference here.

Mr. Jinnah denied the charge made by Pandit Nehru against the British Government that the statement published on December 6, contained additions to the one read out to the Indian leaders the previous evening by the Premier.

"It was all there," he added, "when it was read out to us by the Premier and there is no truth that anything was added afterwards. It was possible that Pandit Nehru did not quite catch the last part of that statement."

Asked what his solution was for the statement persisting in spite of the British clarification, Mr. Jinnah declared that only acceptance of Pakistan would finally enable to create conditions for living as good friendly neighbours.

It would then be possible to put up a united front and see that the British "who have already proclaimed that they would go leave gateway of India which is erected at Apollo Bunder in the city of Bombay."

Asked what he would do to remove the fears of Sikhs and other minorities against Muslim domination in B and C groups in the event of wholehearted acceptance of grouping by other parties. Mr. Jinnah said, "I cannot give any prescription for others' fears. The powers of provinces and groups are embodied in black and white in the statement of May 16 and 25 and December 6. Either they accept those terms or reject them."

Mr. Jinnah pleaded for a "little more sanity on the part of the Congress and less of League and Jinnah-Phobia and little more truth in the Hindu press."

As for Mr. Gandhi's advice to Assam, which Mr. Jinnah said he read in the morning papers, the League leader said it was difficult to attach any importance to what he said, in view of the fact that "he went back on the formula he had signed within 24 hours which was the basis of my talks with Pandit Nehru at Delhi."

Mr. Jinnah at the outset remarked that Sir Stafford Cripps had not been correctly reported and he had given neither Sir Stafford nor any other British Minister any undertaking that he would convene the Council to consider the December 6 statement, with a view to advising the League to enter the Constitutent Assembly. (From our own correspondent)

The Times, December 23, 1946.

955

Message on his 71st Birthday, Karachi, December 25, 1946.

Mr. Jinnah has issued the following message:-

"I am very thankful for the messages I have received wishing me many happy returns on my birthday from all over India. I am also thankful to the people of Karachi, where I happen to be today, who have very warmly, in various ways, given me their good wishes."

"I only want to say: Mussalmans, maintain unity and discipline, and success is yours and I feel confident that we shall realise our cherished goal of Pakistan."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has received a number of telegrams from League leaders all over India wishing him happy returns on his seventy-first birthday. Mr. Jinnah spent a quiet day, as he was rather tired and could not attend the lunch party arranged in his honour by the Premier, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

In the evening a reception was held when hundreds of Musalmans gathered to pay homage to their leader. The Muslim National Guards paraded in front of Mr. Jinnah's residence.

Mr. Jinnah's Message

Mr. Jinnah, addressing them from the balcony, regretted that he could not meet them as he felt very much tired but hoped to meet them shortly. He appealed to them to unite under the Muslim League banner and achieve Pakistan.

The Eastern Times, December 27, 1946.

956

Message to Kashmir Muslims, Karachi, December 26, 1946.

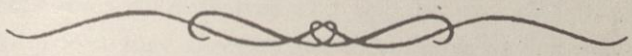
Choudhry Hamidullah Khan, acting President of the Kashmir Muslim Conference, met Quaid-e-Azam. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, and acquainted him with the situation in Kashmir in regard to the forthcoming elections to the State Assembly.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah in a statement wished the Muslim Conference all success in the election and said: "I know that you are putting up a brave fight against difficulties and many odds and forces that are working against you. Only organised and united effort will bring you victory.

"I, therefore, appeal to the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to stand united, and help and vote solidly for every candidate put up by the Muslim Conference."

The Dawn, December 27, 1946.

1947



957

Message to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Karachi, January 1, 1947.

"Muslim India has full sympathy in your struggle and I wish you success in the realization of your aspirations and freedom." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 2, 1947.

958

Address to a Meeting of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, Karachi, January 3, 1947.

A meeting of the Sind Assembly Muslim League party was held at the residence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. He informed the party that he had seen all the sections of the people and classes during the last eight or ten days and the general desire of all was that there should be complete solidarity, harmony and co-operation amongst ourselves and that he was glad to inform them after exchange of views and discussions he had that there was no contest for the leadership of the Muslim League Party in Sind Assembly. The only course open to the party, therefore, was to elect Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayyatullah to be leader and Mr. M.A.Khuro to be the Deputy Leader.

Upon that statement of Mr. Jinnah, it was resolved unanimously that Sheikh Ghulam Hussain should be the leader and Mr. Khuhro Deputy Leader of the party. The party also expressed the desire that the leader shoud continue to keep the status quo in the personnel of the present ministry. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 4, 1947.

959

Message to the Public Meeting held to celebrate the Victory Day, Karachi, January 6, 1947.

"I am very sorry that although I wished to come here I am not able to do so as I am not very well. I have been working even in temperature of 100 and 101 also but today deeply regret I shall not be able to participate in this meeting."

"I congratulate the Muslims of Sind over the brilliant victory they have achieved in the recent elections and if you remain united and disciplined and continue to work in the same spirit we will achieve Pakistan sooner than many people expect."

The Eastern Times, January 7, 1947.

960

Statement regardintg the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee, Karachi, January 7, 1947.

Quaid-e-Azam. M. A. Jinnah has issued the following statement to the Press:

"I have seen the Press report of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee and the discussions and the pronouncements of the various leaders who participated in the deliberations of the All-India Congress Committee meeting.

"I propose to summon the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at an early date and I am in communication with the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League in this connection.

"Probably the Working Committee may meet in Karachi.

"I, therefore, do not wish to express my opinion until I have had the opportunity of consulting the members of the Working Committee and I do not wish to anticipate their decision by expressing my opinion at this moment. It will be for the Working Committee to take such decisions as they may think propr after full discussions." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, January 8, 1947.

961

Statement after meeting Aung San (Burmese Leader), Karachi, January 8, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah in his statement says, "I am very pleased to meet Gen. Aung San and I had a very free and frank talk with him about various problems affecting India and Burma. I wish him success in his mission to England.

"The Muslim League's policy has been very clear. We do not wish to interfere with the Indian States in India. We are concerned only with British India and I assure the Burmese people that the Muslim League has no intention of raising the question concerning the annexation of Maungdaw to Pakistan. The Muslim League has never put forward any such claim nor do we intend to do so. I, therefore, appeal that this matter will once for all be put at rest and happy and friendly relations between the Muslims and the Burmese people will continue unabated both aiming at helping each other."

QAP-F-1021/p.40 &
The Chronicle, January 9, 1947.

962

Speech in reply to an Address presented by the students of "Sind Madressah" Karachi, January 12, 1947.

Replying to the address Mr. Jinnah told the meeting that the new Sind Ministry had been installed in the office with a definite programme and education was one of the foremost items in that programme.

Mr. Jinnah emphasised that education of boys and girls was essential for the progress of a nation and asked for voluntary efforts in the field of education supplementing the Government's efforts. (A.P.I.).

The Dawn, January 13, 1947.

963

Speech at the foundation laying ceremony of the Sind Madressah Girls High School, Karachi, January 12, 1947.

"Do not imitate the wrongs done by others. Use your judgement and ask: Is it honourable to imitate such wrongs? Is it just? If your conscience tells you it is wrong, you must not succumb yourself to any temptation under any circumstances," observed Mr. Jinnah replying to the address of welcome by Pir Illahi Bakhsh, President of the Sind Madressah Board on the occasion of the foundation laying ceremony of the Sind Madressah Girls High School by Miss Fatima Jinnah. The function was attended by a large number of people including Shaikh Ghulam Hussain, Sind Premier, Mr. Yousaf Haroon and Mrs. Hassanally A. Rahman.

"Education is the foundation of every nation," continued Mr. Jinnah and added that it was a matter of regret that Sind was the most backward province in the whole country in education. He was glad that there was some awakening now and urged for an earnest drive towards literacy throughout the province extending to all communities.

"The Muslim of today is very lazy." Mr. Jinnah remarked and added that it was through hard work, industry and perseverance alone that anything could be achieved.

Mr. Jinnah concluded with a fervent appeal to the audience to develop the highest sense of honesty, integrity, duty, responsibility and justice.

Earlier, Pir Illahi Baksh read an address of welcome to Mr. Jinnah in course of which the Pir Saheb as President of the Sind Madresah Board, asserted that Mr. Jinnah was "the sole representative of the hundered million Muslims of this continent, the sole interpreter of their political wishes, and their sole guide: and that Mr. Jinnah's footsteps make history and on his decisions hangs the destiny of a great and historic nation."

The address presented by the President on behalf of the Sind Madressah Board further said that Mr. Jinnah had been staying "for a long time in our Province to give stability to our ministry and Assembly majority."

Mr. and Miss Jinnah were garlanded and thanked for the interest they had evinced in the cause of education. -- (F.O.S.)

QAP-F-1021/pp.41-42 & The Sind Observer, January 14, 1947.

964

Statement on the arrests of the Muslim League leaders in the Punjab, Karachi, January 26, 1947.

"I am shocked to read the report in the press of the decision of Punjab Government to declare the Muslim National Guards Organization unlawful under the guise of and plea that the Government cannot allow private armies. There is not an iota of truth in it that Muslim National Guards are based on the idea of racing up a private army and this has been fully explained by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in his statement issued yesterday. No complaint was made, or warning given, by the Punjab Government to the executive of the National Guards, the Provincial Muslim League or the All-India Muslim League nor has the Muslim National Guards Organization been shown to have done anything or attempting to do anything that was unlawful.

The sudden swooping down upon the National Guards Organisation and declaring it unlawful under section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, is most high-handed and unwarranted action and besides it raises another very serious question as it strikes at the root of civil liberties. This is followed up with terrorist methods of searching the offices of the Muslim National Guards and arresting Muslim Leaguers. This policy of suppression and oppression of Muslim League raises very grave issues.

"It is not clear whether this policy and the action taken by the Punjab Government is by the ministry, or the Governor, or both. The Premier of Punjab, who was in Delhi discussing with the Viceroy the question of a military academy for Punjab, when asked what he had to say about this action on the part of the Punjab Government, to my astonishment, said that he had nothing to say until he returned to Lahore. Evidently the

decision was taken in his absence and without his knowledge and I hope the Premier will explain his position without any further delay with regard to this matter.

"The repercussion of this one more mad and inimical action against the Muslim League on the part of the Punjab Government will be terrific all over Muslim India and I appeal to the Viceroy to immediately intervene and save the situation which otherwise may take a very serious turn for which the entire responsibility will rest with the Viceroy and H.M.G.*

"The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which is meeting in Karachi on the 29th of January, will consider the whole matter and decide upon what course of action should be adopted to meet uncalled for aggression and unwarranted policy of the Punjab Government at this most critical time when already there is much trouble and unrest all over India." (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/pp.224-225 &

The Dawn, January 27, 1947.

965

Statement on the Punjab Situation, Karachi, February 2, 1947.

I once more draw the attention of the Punjab Government, the Governor and the Viceroy, not to indulge in any camouflage and deal with the situation boldly and frankly and restore civil liberties of the people of the Punjab" said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement on the Punjab situation today.

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* His Majesty's Government.

Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims, particularly the youth in the Punjab, to avoid communal conflicts and keep the movement absolutely peaceful. He said that they were fighting on an issue which was just and right one and their sacrifices would not go to vain.

The following is the full statement:

"I hope that the Muslims of the Punjab will be able to get a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League that was passed in Karachi on February 1. It is unfortunate and I am sorry to say that the Punjab Press is censored and news is blacked out by the executive orders of the Punjab Government.

"The policy of the Punjab Government and the actions they took were clearly not based upon any apprehension of breach of peace or communal clash. The Punjab Muslims have been the target of extraordinary and conceptional laws by means of which the Punjab Ministry is armed and which were enforced and utilized against the Muslim League Party, and the Muslims generally, in order to keep this ramshackle Ministry going.

"It is absolutely untrue that the Muslim League wants to break the Ministry by force or indulging in unlawful activities.

The Premier of the Punjab, Malik Sir Khizr Hyat Tiwana, has proclaimed an elementary proposition, when he says that to break or defeat a Ministry in power the only way is, for the Opposition to secure a majority in the House; and he talks of democracy like the devil quoting scripture.

"Ever since this Ministry was formed about the end of March 1946, now for nearly a year it has faced the Assembly only once and that too for a few days to transact some serious official business and no chance was given for any non-official business.

Absurd Ordinance

"It is quite clear and the result is very simple, that they are afraid of their very doubtful small majority and unnatural combination of groups, combined because of their hostility to the League.

"It is therefore, that no opportunity or facilities are afforded to the Opposition for any criticism, exposure and challenging the strength of the Government, in the House.

"Outside, Section 144, various other methods are adopted for gagging the legitimate constitutional expression of the public opinion and criticism of the Government by banning meetings and processions etc. and the promulgation of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance which is absured and other executive methods by which the police and the administration are used not only to gag the free expression of opinion and criticism, which are the elementary rights of the citizens but they have destroyed all semblance of civil liberties and have, by various methods chloroformed the Press.

"It is against these conditions that the long suffering Muslim League Party and the Muslims have revolted; the Ministry having taken the offensive by declaring the Muslim League National Guards organisation, which is part of the All-India Muslim League organisation, unlawful. Again by an extraordinary method by resorting to the criminal Law Amendment Act without any complaint or warning having been given before hand.

"I note, that the unjust and unwarranted action of the Government has been rectified by removing the ban against the Muslim League National Guards.

"But there still remains the policy and the well considered programme of the present Ministry of gagging free expression of opinion and liberty of criticising the Government and exposing it by all legitimate, constitutional methods and

that policy has been enforced ruthlessly by extraordinary executive methods and in order to maintain this policy and programme they have resorted to extraordinary executive powers such as the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance. These orders and methods resorted to are beyond the pale and jurisdiction of judicial tribunals. It is against this policy, programme and state of things that the Muslim League is fighting.

"I once more draw the attention of the Punjab Government, the Governor and the Viceroy, not to indulge in any camouflage and deal with the situation boldly and frankly and restore civil liberties of the people of the province.

"I, therefore, appeal and advise the Muslims of the Punjab and particularly the Muslim youth to strictly follow:

(i) That your movement must be absolutely peaceful.

(ii) that under no circumstances should you allow yourselves, or be a party to any communal conflict or clash, whatever and however much be the provocation. This is not a communal fight at all. Every citizen of the Punjab, whatever may be his community, should support the Muslim League for the issue which they are fighting for affects all i.e. the restoration of civil liberties.

(iii) that you must maintain complete unity and discipline.

"You are struggling and fighting on an issue which is a just and right one and whatever sufferings or sacrifice you may have to go through will not go in vain.

"It is quite clear that the entire Muslim India is in sympathy with your struggle and the issue for which you are fighting. I can only repeat what the Working Committee of the

Muslim League has already said in their resolution, that the All India Muslim League and its Central Organisation will do all that lies in their power to help you in our legitimate demands and rightfull struggle. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 3, 1947.

966

Message to the Frontier Muslim League,
Karachi, February 19, 1947.

Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah has telegraphically congratulated the Frontier Muslim League on the Mardan-Kamalzai by-election success. He writes 'Organise our people and we are bound to win, *Inshaullah*." (O.P.I.)

The Eastern Times, February 20, 1947.

967

Statement regarding Mr. Attlee's
statement in the British Parliament,
Karachi, February 21, 1947.

Asked about his reactions to H.M.G's statement yesterday (February 20) in Parliament, Mr. M.A. Jinnah said he was not in a position to say anything now until he had seen the full report.

Mr. Jinnah added: "It appears to be a very important statement and requires very careful examination before the Muslim League or I can express any opinion with regard to it.

"We shall consider the matter and take such course as we think proper to deal with it, as soon as possible."

The Eastern Times, February 22, 1947.

968

Address to a large gathering of Muslims of Malir, Karachi, February 21, 1947.

'There is only one road for the progress of Mussalmans in villages who are steeped in poverty and live in insanitary conditions—that is to organize themselves with absolute self-reliance, join the Muslim League and draw up the programme for their uplift," said Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, addressing a large gathering of Muslim residents of Malir on the eve of his return to Karachi.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the conditions in the suburbs and asked them what they had done to improve the villages and provide amenities of life. He said it was no use blaming the Ministry. Muslim residents themselves in every village should organise, draw up plans and try to execute them. Unless the component parts were rightly set the overall position could not be expected to be good.

Only through proper development of the village units could the Muslim work out the salvation of their province and their country. Mr. Jinnah, therefore, exhorted Muslims to develop the art of self reliance, unity and organisation and see that their houses in each village were set right.

Mr. Jinnah said that the past ten years were a period of shame to Sind. Muslims could not establish a stable Ministry and the Hindus with the help of a few renegade Muslims were making and unmaking the Ministries. After ten years the Muslims had regained power and the League Ministry had an eight point programme.

They were not so much concerned with the people who would carry out the programme as the programme and the output themselves. The League High Command would see that

they were implemented and the Sind Muslims would also maintain a careful watch over the Ministry of its obligations to the people. He referred to the strength the Muslim League had developed and the strength of the organisation gave to its members.

Mr. Jinnah pointed out that a year before the League had decided to renounce titles, none would have dared to do so and they would have shivered to contemplate its consequences. But when the League decided on the course, hundreds did renounce at the very moment and Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was the first to renounce his knighthood.

In conclusion Mr. Jinnah appealed to them to unite and organise. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 22, 1947.

969

Speech at a meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council, Karachi, February 23, 1947.

Addressing a meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Mr. Jinnah referred to the history of the past decade when the Muslims in India and specially in Sind were politically backward, and observed: "But only in this short time we have succeeded in awakening the Muslims. Among our achievements one is that we have today our own stable majority Government here. It is up to us now to see that we control this Government and make it truly responsible.

Mr. Jinnah added: "Although an eight-point programme has been drawn up for the welfare of the people, yet this is not enough. We have still much to accomplish. We find ourselves still unprepared for the task that awaits us. We have yet a lot of ground to cover. We must cultivate unity, discipline and faith,

and our masses must be educated and organised. Only then can we become a truly great nation commanding a place of honour amongst the nations of the world.

"All this we can do and much more can we achieve, if only we do not go astray from the path laid down by the greatest Prophet—Muhammad [PBUH]. You must remember that we lost our position in the world, because we, for some reason or other, could not follow in his footsteps." (A.P.I. and O.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, February 25, 1947.

970

Address to a group of Bihar Muslims in their refugee camp, Karachi, February 23, 1947.

"The Muslim League will not yield an inch in their demand for Pakistan," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, addressing a group of Bihar Muslims in their refugee camp.

He added: "Whatever the Hindus may do, we shall ever remain generous and good to all. Our demand is just and is the only way to liberate the 100,000,000 of Muslims in India. The sufferings that the Muslims had undergone in Bihar and elsewhere only show more clearly that we should have a separate State of Pakistan."

Mr. Jinnah said: "Nations are built through sacrifices, and I am really proud of the Bihar Muslims who had sacrificed so much. Their sacrifices will not go in vain. They have certainly brought our goal of Pakistan nearer and shown our readiness to make any sacrifice for its attainment."

Mr. Jinnah addressed the Biharis for a few minutes and then spent about half an hour in their camps talking to a number

of them. He inquired into the arrangements made for their stay here and assured them of every help in money, food, cloth and medical aid that he and the Muslim League could possibly provide.

Mr. Jinnah presented Rs. 5,000 for the relief of Bihar Musalmans.

The Pakistan Times, February 25, 1947.

971

Statement regarding the scope of a settlement between the Punjab Government and the Provincial Muslim League, Karachi, February 24, 1947.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League who had discussions with Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, acting President of the Punjab Muslim League, on the Punjab situation, further outlined the scope of a settlement "honourable to both sides—the Punjab Government and the Muslim League", in an interview.

Mr. Jinnah said that he wanted to make it clear that the Muslim League had no intention or motive in scoring any point in the matter of the settlement.

Asked whether Maulana Daud Ghaznavi came to Karachi to consult him on behlaf of the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim League, with whom the Punjab Government is negotiating settlement, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Yes. He reported to me fully what the position was and I gather that there were four points:

"1. That the ban on public meetings should be removed; (2) the ban on processions should be removed; (3) the Punjab

Public Safety Ordinance should be placed before the Punjab Legislative Assembly at its next session with modifications, if any, for the assembly to consider and allow the House to take such decisions as the House may determine; and (4) that all those who since the movement started were arrested, imprisoned or convicted should be released.

"I understand that the Punjab League Leaders are not insisting on the ban on processions being removed immediately as a compromise, although they are of the opinion that it is the right of the people which should not be interfered with, and I agree with this view.

Release of Prisoners

"Therefore, there remain the other three points and I understand the Punjab Government is willing to remove the ban on meetings and release all those referred to in point number four, namely, all those arrested, imprisoned, convicted or detained since this movement started should be released.

The Only Question

"The only question that now remains is the placing of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance before the Punjab Legislative Assembly. This has been done by other provinces and it is, therefore, in consonance with constitutional precedents and the duty of any popular constitutional Government, because the Ordinance was enacted as an emergency measure as the legislature was not in session.

League Cannot Acquiesce

"It is the duty of any Government that is based on democracy and constitutional precedents that it should place an ordinance enacted as an emergency measure at the first and earliest moment before the legislature.

"I hope that the Governor of the Punjab and the Ministry will realise that the Muslim League cannot

acquiescence in or agree to the Ordinance continuing, ignoring the legislature, which is going to meet shortly. I hope that they will appreciate our insistence on the course suggested by us to be adopted and will not be affected by any question of prestige or any other consideration, but agree to act as a constitutional, popular, democratic Government. This will, in my judgment, enhance their prestige."

In conclusion Mr. Jinnah said that he wanted to make it clear that the Muslim League has no intention or motive of scoring any point in the matter of the settlement. What he had said, he felt, was nothing but absolutely just and fair and honourable for both the parties to accept. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, February 25, 1947.

972

Interview to A.P.I. at Karachi prior to his departure for Bombay, Karachi, February 25, 1947.

The attitude of the Muslim League towards minorities was defined by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League in an interview to the A.P.I. today prior to his departure for Bombay by boat.

Mr. Jinnah said: "The one cardinal principle that I have followed and shall adhere to is that the minorities whichever community they belong, must be treated, fairly and justly, and that every effort should be made by the majority community to create a sense of security and confidence in them. That is the policy that we are going to follow in Sind, since it is the first time that the majority community are now vested with such powers as there are under the present constitution and with the responsibilities which now rest on their shoulders in Sind for the first time."

He added that in the pursuit of this policy which they were going definitely to follow, the Opposition must also be a responsible opposition.

Unhelpful Hindu Press

Mr. Jinnah said: "Unfortunately the Hindu opinion both in the Legislature and outside is not helpful, especially the Hindu press which believes and pursues this policy. I speak now from my knowledge for I have been reading Hindu papers ever since I came to Sind nearly three months ago. It seems their main effort is an organised hostility and misrepresentation of the Muslim League and Muslim League leaders both provincial and central.

"This only creates an undesirable atmosphere and prevents people from thinking and acting dispassionately and in a spirit which hinders those who desire and are anxious that they should extract the fullest benefit under the present constitution for the people of Sind and their welfare in a manner which will not only be just and right but redound to the credit of the people of Sind."

Mr. Jinnah hoped that the Muslim League party and the Ministry would acquit themselves both in the administrative and legislative spheres in a manner which would redound to their credit in the discharge of their duties and responsibility to the people of Sind.

A Word To Opposition

He also trusted that the Hindu opposition and other minorities would act as a responsible opposition and help them to achieve some solid results in the near future. He thanked all those who had shown him their hospitality and kindness during his stay in Karachi and wished the province and the people of Sind godspeed. He assured them that he would try to do his best and hoped to come to Sind more often than he had done so far.

Mr. Jinnah refused to be drawn into a discussion on Mr. Attlee's statement, or the possibility of a Congress-League understanding. Asked about the situation in the Punjab, he expressed the hope that his recent statement would clear the air, and he felt there was no obstacle now in the way for a settlement in that province.

While Mr. Jinnah declined to indicate the possible date of the meeting of the Msulim League Working Committee, it is understood the Committee will meet at Delhi some time after March 10.

The Dawn, February 26, 1947.

973

Statement on the resignation of Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Bombay, March 3, 1947.

Mr. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League in an interview to the press on the resignation of the Punjab Ministry, appealed for complete unity among Mussalmans. "If we establish complete unity, co-operation and harmony among ourselves, it will not be difficult", Mr. Jinnah added, "to settle with other communities or parties and the British Government".

The following is the full text of the statement of Mr. Jinnah:-

"I am glad to learn the news this morning that Malik Sir Khizar Hayat has submitted the resignation of his cabinet. He had taken a wise decision and I hope that his example will soon be followed by Dr. Khan Sahib.

"At this critical moment and in view of the grave situation that the Muslim nation is facing, it is absolutely essential that there should be complete unity amongst us. There

is no power on earth that can stop us from achieving our goal of Pakistan, provided Mussalmans stand solidly behind the Muslim League.

Secure Posterity's Admiration

"If we fail, it will be our own fault and let us not be condemned by history and posterity that we of this generation were not able to rise above petty differences and personal equation or quarrels at a moment when it is obvious that we should close up our ranks for our national cause and for our cherished goal of Pakistan.

"We have to struggle against all odds and we are handicapped in many ways, but let us not be held guilty of having lost our cause owing to our own folly of creating differences amongst ourselves and allowing them to exist. Let us be absolutely united, speak and act with one voice and if we establish complete unity, co-operation and harmony among ourselves, it will not be difficult to settle with other communities or parties and the British Government.

"I therefore, once more appeal to every Mussalman to unreservedly rally round the banner of the Muslim League and let us march together as true soldiers of our nation and then we shall not fail". (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 4, 1947.

974

Message to the Morning Herald, Bombay, March 4, 1947.

The first Muslim English daily of Bombay Province "Morning Herald" is due to be published from Bombay on Sunday, March 23.

In a message to the paper Quaid-e-Azam said "I wish your venture in starting a Muslim English daily entitled *"Morning Herald"* from Bombay success. I am very pleased to hear that your paper will support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. I wish you every success. (O.P.I.)

QAP-F-438/p.2 & The Dawn, March 23, 1947.

975

Joint appeal to all communities of India to refrain from all acts of violence, New Delhi, March 11, 1947.

A Joint declaration by the Muslim League President Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi calling upon all communities of India to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder and denouncing "for all time use of force to achieve political ends" was made public by a statement from the Viceroy's House.

The statement said: "On His Excellency the Viceroy's initiative and at his specific request Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah signed the following declaration and authorized its publication."

"We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace and greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were aggressors and who were victims," the joint statement said.

The statement continued: "We denounce for all time use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all communities of India to whatever persuasion they may belong not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder; but also to avoid both in speech and writing any incitement to such acts."

The signatures of Mr. M.A. Jinnah and Mr. M.K. Gandhi were placed side by side below the statement. (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, March 16, 1947.

976

Speech at a party given in his honour by the Bombay Muslim Journalists Association, Bombay, March 12, 1947.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, said that there was no other solution which would do credit and honour to the millions of Musalmans of India except Pakistan. Speaking at a party given in his honour by the Bombay Provincial Muslim Journalists' Association, Mr. Jinnah said, "There is no other course open, we must organise ourselves in every department of our life.

Journalism has a very improtant part to play in the life of our nation. Very often it is being said that we do not find capable Muslim journalists.

Mr. Jinnah congratulated the Muslim journalists on the formation of the Association and said:

"We have got to stand on our own legs. Our ideology, our goal, our basic and fundamental principles and programmes are not only different from the Hindu organisations but are in conflict."

"It is obvious, therefore, that the two cannot be put together and made to work. There is no common ground for co-operation or harmonious working."

"I have been preaching this for nearly 10 years. There was a time when it was said that I was holding fantastic ideas. There was a time when the idea of Pakistan was laughed at, but let me tell you this there is no other solution which will do credit and bring honour to our people."

"Do not allow any outsider to come in and create trouble or differences in our ranks. It is our business, our house and it is our duty to put it in order and not the business of outsiders."

Mr. Jinnah said that attempts were being made on "the other side" to create differences among the Muslims and place obstacles in the way of the attainment of Pakistan, but to a very great extent these obstacles had been flattened out.

Power Of Press

Referring to the profession of journalism, Mr. Jinnah said: "You have great power. You can guide and misguide people. You can make or mar the biggest personality. The power of the press is great, but you must remember that this power which you are wielding is a trust. Look upon it as a great trust, and remember that you are guiding honestly and sincerely the progress and welfare of your nation. At the same time, I expect you to be completely fearless."

Mr. Jinnah said he welcomed criticism.

"If I go wrong, or if the League goes wrong in any direction of its policy or programme, I want you to criticise it honestly as its friend, in fact, as one whose heart is beating with the Muslim nation."

The League President referred to the growing strength of the All India Muslim League, and said: 'It has moved from strength to strength, no matter what comes in its way. It is difficult to break the ice in the initial stage, but once it is broken, you can swim in the ocean as free men. Let us move on and move together and, *Insha Allah*, we shall have Pakistan."

Mr. Aziz Beg, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim Journalists' Association, welcoming Mr. Jinnah, said that the causes which led to the formation of the Association were the same as those responsible for the creation of the All India Muslim League and of the demand for Pakistan (A.P.I.).

The Dawn, March 13, 1947.

977

Directive to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to co-operate with the administration in the Punjab to restore order, Bombay, March 17, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, directed the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to give its unstinted and whole-hearted co-operation to the administration in the Punjab to restore order in the province immediately and also reminded the Mussalmans of the Punjab that it is their sacred duty to protect the minorities that live amongst them," according to Mian Mumtaz Daultana, General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

Disclosing to an Associated Press of India correspondent before his departure for Lahore, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, who was deputed by the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to see Mr. Jinnah in Bombay, said:

"I came to acquaint Mr. M.A. Jinnah of the terrible situation in the Punjab. I take back with me two mandatory orders from him.

"First, the Muslim League in the Punjab must give its unstinted and whole hearted co-operation to the administration to restore immediately order in the province. We are to offer our fullest and unreserved co-operation to every party and community which has this object in view and we are to seek the help of every man of goodwill in that province.

"Secondly, it is the sacred duty of the Mussalmans of the Punjab to protect the minorities that live amongst them." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 18, 1947.

978

Address to the Muslim League National Guards at their second annual athletic sports, Bombay, March 20, 1947.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah President of the All-India Muslim League addressing the Muslim League National Guards at their second annual athletic sports said: "I want to impress upon everyone in this country to take greater and greater part in sports and to encourage it."

"Our people must take greater part in physical exercise and I want this spirit to grow among our people" said Mr. Jinnah. "It is true that your mind and intellectual faculties should be developed but physical culture should be also developed."

"Your orderly way and your sense of discipline deeply impressed me today, and I urge upon you to see that this smartness and sense of discipline grows among our people by their increasing participation in athletic sports and physical exercise".

Mr. Jinnah who was given a great ovation by a huge crowd that had gathered at the Cooperage Pavilion, took the salute at the march past of the Muslim National Guards. Later the Muslim League President gave away prizes to the winners. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 21, 1947.

979

Message on the Pakistan Day, Bombay, March 22, 1947.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a Pakistan Day message asked all Muslims to observe

the day strictly in a peaceful manner and in complete co-operation with the authorities and maintain law and order, in view of the present disturbed condition in India.

"I urge upon the Musalmans oll over India not to insist on taking out processions, or even upon holding public meetings, but every Musalman, wherever he or she is, should observe this day and reaffirm our resolve and determination to achieve our goal of Pakistan." Mr. Jinnah said.

The following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's message:

"It was on the 23rd of March 1940 that the All-India Muslim League laid down definitely the establishment of Pakistan as the goal of Muslim India. This is the seventh year of our struggle for the realization of that goal.

Wonderful Solidarity

"Every year the Muslim League has forged ahead and gone from strength to strength. Muslim India has stood its tests and trials with wonderful solidarity; Pakistan has been getting nearer and nearer and we are fast reaching in our approach and the realization of it.

"The present conditions in India are far from peaceful and everywhere there is terrific tension and unrest. We must, therefore, observe this day strictly in a peaceful manner and in complete co-operation with the authorities and maintain law and order. I urge upon the Musalmans all over India not to insist on taking out processions or even upon holding public meetings, but every Musalman, wherever he or she is should observe this day and reaffirm our resolve and determination to achieve our goal of Pakistan.

"Pakistan is the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem; Pakistan alone will lead to stable and secure Governments in Hindustan and Pakistan and Pakistan

alone will guarantee real progress welfare and happiness of all the people inhabiting this vast sub-continent.

One India — An Impossibility

"Pakistan means freedom and independence for Hindu India and Muslim India in their respective homelands where they are predominant. One India is an impossibility. For it can and will only mean the establishment of Hindu Raj — and for Musalmans merely transfer from British domination to the Hindu caste imperialism.

"A constitution and Government attempting to function as an All-India Central Government reducing 100 million Muslims to an All-India minority can never succeed but only lead to terrific disasters for it will mean the rule of one nation with its perpetual and brute majority over another nation of 100 million people.

"The only common ground and basis of a settlement is Pakistan, and I do hope that we may yet find a peaceful and amicable solution on that basis.

"But one thing is most essential. At this critical moment in the history of Muslim India, we must stand absolutely united, come what may, and let us be ready to carry on our struggle and face all dangers and eventualities that may beset our path for the realization of our goal of Pakistan.

"I once more most earnestly appeal to every Muslim at this moment that he should rally round the banner of the Muslim League—the only authoritative representative organization of Muslim India.

"We must, for the moment at least, bury the hatchet and whatever domestic differences there may be, we can solve them and settle them ourselves but on the fundamental issue, I am happy to say that there is no difference of opinion and the

Musalmans to a man stand firm for the establishment of Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-1022/p.84 & The Dawn, March 23, 1947.

980

Speech at a reception given by the Memon Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, March 27, 1947.

Referring to the remarks made by the President of the Chamber Mr. Jinnah said that in the days to come there is not going to be a crisis in Pakistan.

I can tell you that this is very remote. In your Government you will be making the greatest contribution to what is known as social justice or in what I might call a Socialistic Government. Social justice is one of the fundamentals of Islam. That is the duty of any state and it must show to the world that it believes in economic and social justice."

Mr. Jinnah added: "There is such a lot of false propaganda and an enormous amount of misunderstanding is created particularly by the other communities especially the Hindus. They have been so much poisoned that they look upon us as if we have an inimical design.

It is absolutely untrue to say that we have any such design.

Pakistan will have to be achieved not only for Muslims, Pakistan means freedom for all, not for one community. Pakistan means freedom for both. I assure you that I have respect for the great Hindu community and all that it stands for. They have their faiths, their philosophy, their great culture. So have the Muslims, but the two are different".

Mr. Jinnah continued: "I am fighting for Pakistan which means I am fighting for the freedom of India. I am fighting for Pakistan because it is the only practical solution for solving the problem. And the other ideal, of a united India and a rule based on the Parliamentary system of Government, it is a vain dream and an impossibility. India is neither a country nor a nation but is a score of nations.

"Let me tell you who brought this idea into our head,. It is the British. What does it matter to Britain if India is divided or not divided. Why should the British bother? Why are they encouraging hopes against hopes and offer a few passages for the leadership of the country. Britain is going, it has to go away. But why should they go about talking of a united India? Because they know it better than Indians do. Therein lies their (British) salvation. Because so long as it is insisted that India is one, they know that there will be nothing but destruction and bloodshed. This has been the idea of Britain and while leaving the country the British are inspiring the armed camp".

"I appeal to the Musalmans and Hindus and others to examine the position. Do not be carried away by dreams. Let us be practical, let us agree to divide. We live in Pakistan and you will in Hindustan. We will be neighbours. We want no outsiders. We want to live in a friendly way, friends in trade and commerce and as two brothers. And that is Pakistan.

Muslims Stand United

"Now it is quite clear that so much money has been spent to disrupt the Musalmans and to divide the Musalmans. It is now ten years that we have stood the trial and all the tests. Today the Musalmans stand as a united sovereign nation, fully prepared to make any sacrifices for Pakistan. And we shall establish it. There is no other way. Pakistan is coming nearer and nearer.

"Therefore, let us now call for a truce and let us agree on Pakistan. It is better to divide and be flourishing than to be united and slave and destroy everything. There is no other alternative. United India will only result in destruction. Why should there be destruction.

"The answer is very simple. United India can only mean the rule of one nation over another. United India means three votes for Hindus and one vote for Muslims. Therefore, one nation with a brute majority cannot rule and inflict its own ideals on another nation."

Muslims Are A Nation

Mr. Jinnah characterised as absurd the oft-repeated assertion that the Muslims are a minority. He referred to the percentage of Muslim majority in the Frontier and asked them to consider if such a majority could be called in any sense a minority community.

"I ask you if a Union is forced can it result in anything else but clash. That is why I say that a divided India will be able to create stable and secure Governments for both Hindus and Muslims in Hindustan and Pakistan.

"I am sure that these two great nations with the great Hindus and Muslims in Hindustan and Pakistan will live in a most friendly way and will show to the world that India is for Indians and not for anybody else".

Mr. Jinnah said that he had been considering various plans for the welfare and prosperity of Muslims—in respect of eduction, economics and social welfare.

Addressing the business community among the Musalmans, Mr. Jinnah said there was no other way for their progress, but to organise themselves economically. He recalled the glorious past in commerce and trade and other fields. He urged them to emulate the pioneering efforts of Tata and start

industrial and educational institutions for the benefit of Muslims, their social, educational and economic and political uplift.

"We have got to organise our own nation. Other communities may take offence. They may say it is communalism. The communities in India have existed for centuries and they will live also for centuries.

"Pakistan is going to be a state in which all people will get their due share in all the amenities of life. Hence solve your problems now.

"Pakistan is a state where there is no question of caste or creed. Why should I grudge any community working for its own social educational and economic uplift? There is no use saying that it is communalism. Sooner you come down to reality the sooner you will solve the problems".

Exchange of Population

Mr. Jinnah referred to the exchange of population now being talked of in the country. He mentioned Mr. Gandhi's reply to questioners at Noakhali and Tipperah two weeks ago. "Answering two questions Mr. Gandhi said that he was agreeable to exchange of population. When I suggested this it was considered a crime and there was a howl".

Mr. Jinnah referred to his talks with Mr. Gandhi in September 1944 and the correspondence exchanged between them. "It was Mr. Gandhi", Mr. Jinnah said, "who first raised the point. I have been after due deliberation saying that exchange of population is necessary and it has to be done.

"It can be done. It cannot be done by a private organisation. What is the position today? What is going on today are only mere symptoms. It has been asked in the Sind Assembly why two Hindu officers wanted to be transferred to a Hindu majority province. Today there is a very strong feeling on

both sides—Hindus and Muslims—Muslims trying to go to Pakistan areas and Hindus trying to go to Hindustan areas. "That shows the uncordial relation today. If they want to live in Pakitan we will help them.

"We assure the Hindus that in Pakistan the minorities will be treated justly, fairly and generously. The whole history of Islam has shown that. The whole teaching of Islam is in that direction.

"Remember that those Governments which are not based on popular trust cannot prosper. Democracy is in the blood of the Musalmans and we have stood for equality, fraternity, and liberty and there is no chance of one man acting on his whims.

"You may rest assured that you will be safer under our system of Government than you will be under a Government which is based on one man rule. If it is good it is Islam and if it is bad it is not Islam. Islam is Justice."

Mr. Jinnah concluded by exhorting them to remember the seriousness of the situation. He said: "We are face to face with a serious situation. If we fail, remember the consequences—I cannot describe it—will be catastrophic". (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, March 28, 1947.

981

Condolence message on the death of Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali, Bombay, March 29, 1947.

"The death of Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali was undoubtedly a great loss to the Muslim nation and to the cause of Muslim women in general." said Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad

Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a condolence message on the death of Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali.

"I was deeply grieved to learn the sad news of the death of Begum Mohammad Ali". The Quaid-e-Azam said: "She was one of the outstanding figures amongst the Muslim women in India and was a true servant of the Muslim nation and Islam.

"I came into very close contact with her as she was one of the members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and as such she was of great help in the deliberations of the committee, and the decisions that were taken by us from time to time.

"Her advice and her views had a tremendous influence over the Working Committee and speaking for myself I shall greatly miss her because she held very sound and advanced views which were helpful to all of us."

"I sincerely sympathise with her relations in their bereavement. Her death is undoubtedly a loss to the nation and to the cause of Muslim women in general", the Quaid-e-Azam concluded.

The Dawn, March 30, 1947.

982

Statement regarding his meeting with the Viceroy, Bombay, March 30, 1947.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League told the Associated Press of America that although he has accepted an invitation to discuss Indian constitutional problems with Viscount Mountbatten, he has no engagement to confer with Mr. Gandhi, who also has been invited to confer with the Viceroy.

Mr. Jinnah declined to elaborate on the statement, which was obtained because of varied interpretations of his original announcement of acceptance.

His statement today still does not rule out the possibility that a meeting between himself and Mr. Gandhi may be arranged. Mr. Jinnah simply declined to discuss it.

"I have been invited to confer with the Viceroy, and I have accepted the invitation," he said. "I have no engagement to confer with Mr. Gandhi".

Mr. Jinnah said that he probably would leave for New Delhi by air on Friday, adding: "I cannot say any more."

He spoke over the telephone, declining to meet the Press personally. (A.P.A.)

The Dawn, March 31, 1947.

983

Appeal to Jamiat-e-Ulema and all Muslims to join the Muslim League, New Delhi, April 12, 1947.

Mr. M.A.Jinnah has appealed to all Muslims and the All India Jamiat-e-Ulema to join the Muslim League in reply to a suggestion from Maulana Hifzur Rahman, General Secretary of the Jamiat, for a conference of all Muslim parties to evolve a common basis for the unity of Indian Muslims. "This", Maulana Hifzur Rahman added "was necessary in view of HMG's statement of February 20 to transfer power to Indians by June, 1948. He further added that according to the Holy Quran without such consultation no decision of any Muslim Organization, however strong and representative it may be politically, can be entitled to be called as "Sharai" or lawful

decision. The Jamiat, he concluded would be ready to co-operate in any method of consultations suggested by Mr. Jinnah.

Grave Issues

Mr. Jinnah in reply said: "In view of the new situation that has arisen by virtue of the White Paper published by the British Government on 20th February, 1947 and having regard to the grave issues which we have to face immediately I agree with you that complete unity among the Musalmans is necessary and I have emphasised more than once, particularly, in the course of the last two or three weeks and I have appealed to every Mussalman to join the Muslim League.

"This is not the moment for us to raise any issues concerning domestic differences and it should be for us to settle them as an organised body, according to new constitution and rules. This is not to the moment for us to be involved in the solution of our domestic problems when the external danger is facing us. I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to you to join the Muslim League without delay and make your contribution to Muslim National cause for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. That can only be done by unity amongst ourselves and by loyally supporting the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative representative organisation of Muslims of India.

I have made it clear that any Muslim who is willing to join the League whatever may have been his views in the past, is welcome and I would welcome everyone of the members of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind.

I do hope that this will receive your earnest attention as I really do not see any difficulty in the light of new developments that have taken place and the attitude of the various important political Hindu organisations, in your responding to my appeal, as I note that you have emphasised and appreciated how

important it is for us at this critical moment to stand together unitedly. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 13, 1947 &
The Eastern Times, April 13, 1947.

984

Speech at a meeting of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, New Delhi, April 13, 1947.

Addressing the party members, Mr. Jinnah emphasised that there should be no slackening in the Muslim demand for Pakistan. Whatever the future might hold out, he said, the Muslim League Party should steadfastly stand by Pakistan and for it.

The Eastern Times, April 14, 1947.

985

Appeal to support Mr. Zahid Hussain in the election for the post of Vice-Chancellor, New Delhi, April 15, 1947.

Mr. M.A.Jinnah supporting the candidature of Mr. Zahid Hussain for the Vice-Chancellorship of the Aligarh Muslim University in a statement says: "I am glad that Mr. Zahid Hussain who was lately Finance Member of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government has been proposed by the retiring Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmad for the Vice-Chancellorship of the Aligarh Muslim University, and that the proposal is seconded by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan."

At the election, which will take place on April 20, I appeal to every member of the Court, and to others to support the candidature of Mr. Zahid Hussain.

I need not mention Mr. Zahid Hussain's career which throughout his service in various departments is well known, and I hope that he will acquit himself as Vice-Chancellor in a similar manner.(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 16, 1947.

986

Statement after meeting the Viceroy, New Delhi, April 24, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, disclosed in a statement that the situation in the North West Frontier Province was specifically discussed in his three hour meeting with the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten.

"I have had talks with His Excellency the Viceroy more than once and, as a result therefore the first step has been taken by the Frontier Government in announcing (1) their decision to release unconditionally all political prisoners as soon as conditions permit; and (2) that they have no intention of interfering with the freedom of expression of political opinion or with peaceful meetings, but processions and picketing cannot be permitted until normal conditions return.

"Since then the Viceroy last evening discussed with me specifically the grave situation that has arisen in the North West Frontier Province; and, notwithstanding his pre-occupations, he has interrupted the important business with which he is so immediately concerned and has decided to go to the Frontier on Monday next. The fact that His Excellency is going to the Frontier is undoubtedly a clear indication of his earnestness to examine the situation personally and to establish contact with

the leaders in the province, and his determination to remove the root-cause of the serious trouble and situation that has arisen in the province.

"As a result of my talks, I feel that the Viceroy is determined to play fair. And in view of these circumstances, I appeal to the Muslims generally and the Muslim Leaguer in particular to maintain peace , law and order so as to give the Viceroy every opportunity to fully understand the situation.

"I am glad that Mr. Nishtar is already there and I feel confident that he will guide and help our people in every way he can." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, April 25, 1947

987

Message to the people of Burma, New Delhi, April 26, 1947.

Mr. U. Chan Htoon, Constitutional Adviser to the Government of Burma, had an interview with Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President of All India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah assured that Pakistan would always be a close friend of Burma.

The Burmese leader told pressmen that he discussed with Mr. Jinnah a report which appeared in the press stating that some Muslims of Buthidaung and Maungdaw in Arakan claimed — for Pakistan, those two districts. Mr. Jinnah told him that he had clarified the position of the Muslim League in regard to this question in a joint statement issued by him and Aung San in January last.

In a message to the people of Burma Mr. Jinnah said: "Please convey my message to U Aung San and the Burmese leaders that they have my whole-hearted support and best wishes in their struggle for freedom. We are sailing in the same

boat and fighting for our freedom. God willing, you and we may soon be free."

Mr. Jinnah also told U Chan Htoon that he has always been telling the Muslims of Burma that they must completely identify themselves with the Burmese in their efforts to secure freedom. If the Muslims have any grievances they must settle it amicably with the Burmese because Burma was their home. He exhorted the Burmese to treat them justly and fairly as their own kith and kin, that was the way to keep all together and happy.

Pakistan is coming nearer and nearer to realisation" Mr. Jinnah told U Chan Htoon and added, "Bengal is your neighbour. I can assure you that Pakistan will always be a close friend of Burma. —(A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 27, 1947.

988

Statement on the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, New Delhi, April 30, 1947.

Denouncing the demand for a partition of the Punjab and Bangal as "a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness" Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, in a statement said: "I do hope that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government will fall into this trap and commit a grave error".

Mr. Jinnah reiterated his demand for the creation of a Moslem National State consisting of the six provinces. "The transfer of power to Pakistan and Hindustan Governments", Mr. Jinnah said, "must mean a division of the defence forces. This is a clear cut road and the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem."

Mr. Jinnah said. "Exchange of population will have to take place and the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan can take up the matter and subsequently respective Governments in Pakistan and Hindustan can effectively carry out the exchange of population wherever it may be necessary and feasible."

"I find from Press reports that the Congress has now started emphasising that, in the event of Pakistan and Hindustan being established, the Punjab will be partitioned, while the Hindu Mahasabha has started a vigorous propaganda that Bengal should be partitioned.

Principle Of Partition

"I would like to point out that there is a great deal of confusion created on purpose. The question of the division of India, as proposed by the Muslim League, is based on the fundamental fact that there are two nations, Hindus and Muslims, and the underlying principle is that we want a national home and a national State in our homelands, which are predominantly Muslim and comprise of the single units of the Punjab, the Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam.

"This will give the Hindus their national home and their national state of Hindustan, which means three fourths of British India.

"Now the question of partitioning Bengal and the Punjab is raised, not with a bona fide object, but as a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness, as they feel that India is going to be divided—firstly, to create more difficulties for the British Government and the Viceroy, and secondly to unnerve the Muslims by repeatedly emphasising that the Muslims will get a truncated or mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan.

"This clamour is not based on any sound principle except that the Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal wish to cut

up these Provinces and cut up their own people into two in these Provinces.

Hindu Homelands

The Hindus have their homelands, as I said, consisting of six vast Provinces.

"Merely because a portion of the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces have taken up this attitude, the British Government should not countenance it, because the result will be logically that all other Provinces will have to be cut up in a similar way, which will be dangerous as to embark on this line will lead to the breaking up of the various Provinces, and create a far more dangerous situation in the future than at present. If such a process were to be adopted, it would strike at the root of the administrative, economic and political life of the Provinces, which have for nearly a century been developed and built up on that basis and have grown and are functioning under the present Constitution as autonomous Provinces.

Beware of the Trap

"It is a mistake to compare the basic principle of the demand for Pakistan and the demand for the cutting up of the Provinces throughout India into fragmentation. I hope that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government will fall into this trap and commit a grave error.

"It is obvious that if the Hindu minorities in Pakistan wish to emigrate and go to their homelands of Hindustan they will be at liberty to do so, and vice versa. Those Muslims who wish to emigrate from Hindustan can do so and go to Pakistan; and sooner or later an exchange of population will have to take place and the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan can take up the matter and subsequently the respective Governments in Pakistan and Hindustan can effectively carry out the exchange of population wherever it may be necessary and feasible.

"The Congress propaganda is intended to disrupt and put obstacles, obstructions and difficulties in the way of an amicable solution. It is quite obvious that they have put up the Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal and the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Congress Press is inciting the Sikhs and misleading them.

"The Sikhs do not stand to gain by the partition of the Punjab, but will be split into two halves: More than half of their population will have to remain in Pakistan, even if a partition of the Punjab takes place according to their conception, whereas in Pakistan, as proposed by the Muslim League, they will play, as one solid minority a very big part. We have always been very willing to meet them in every reasonable way. Besides, the White Paper of Feb. 20 lays down that power will be transferred to the authority or authorities in a manner that will be smooth and will create the least amount of difficulty and trouble.

Clear-Cut Road

"If power is to be transferred to various Governments, it can only be done successfully to the Pakistan group and the Hindustan group, which will establish stable, secure Governments and will be able to run these Governments peacefully and successfully.

"The transfer of power to the Pakistan and Hindustan Governments must mean a division of the Defences as a *sine qua non* of such a transfer, and the Defence Forces should be completely divided and, in my opinion, can be divided before June 1948. The States of Pakistan and Hindustan should be made absolutely free, independent and sovereign. This is a clear-cut road, and the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, May 1, 1947.

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Statement issued with the approval of Mr. Gandhi after Jinnah-Gandhi meeting, New Delhi, May 6, 1947.

"We discussed two matters. One was the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan and Mr. Gandhi does not accept the principle of division. He thinks division is not inevitable whereas in my opinion not only Pakistan is inevitable but this is the only practical solution of India's political problem.

The second matter which we discussed was the letter which we have both signed jointly appealing to the people to maintain peace and we have both come to the conclusion that we must do our best in our respective spheres to see that the appeal of our is carried out and we will make every effort for this purpose."

The Dawn, May 7, 1947.

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Statement on the situation in the Frontier province, New Delhi, May 7, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, issued a thousand word Statement on the Frontier.

Following is the text of the statement:

"I have had the opportunity of fully discussing with Frontier League leaders the situation in the North-West Frontier province and the developments that have taken place recently. The League movement in the Frontier was started because the people and especially the Muslim Leaguers and the

League organisation in the province were sought to be crushed by Khan Sahib Ministry, by fair means or foul, ever since the ministry was formed. The victimisation, persecution, suppression and oppression on the part of the Government, knew no limits.

"Every vestige of civil liberties had ceased to exist. Ordinances, Frontier Crime Regulations, Section 144 and other repressive provisions of the law were being freely and ruthlessly used to deprive the people of their rights of political expression and criticism of the ministry. These were the conditions prevailing in the province when the top-ranking leaders of the Muslim League were arrested for asserting their right of civil liberties, and the resentment caused among the people assumed the character of mass civil disobedience. It is absolutely false and a complete misrepresentation of the facts that the All India Muslim League ever decided to actually resort to direct action. The Bombay resolution of 29 July, 1946, merely indicated a change of policy, by it we declared that we would no longer be restricted to constitutional methods which had been scrupulously followed by the All India Muslim League up to that time.

"The Congress creed, on the other hand not only permitted them to resort to unlawful means, but it was of the very essence of the organisation that they were free to resort to mass civil disobedience at any time they considered proper for the achievement of their objectives through coercive methods.

Sword Of Democles

"This sword of Democles was kept continually hanging over the Muslim and the British Government and the Congress has repeatedly launched movements and used the weapon of mass civil disobedience since 1921 on various occasions, creating grave situation in the country. The last time they decided to launch the movement, was in 1942 and we all know what disastrous consequences it had. The attitude of the Congress

towards perpetrators of acts of violence in connection with movements launched by it, is evident from what the Congress ministries have been doing since their return to power in their provinces. Acts of violence committed during the 1942 movement have been treated by the Congress leaders as act of heroism and patriotism.

As against this policy and record of the Congress, the Muslim League put in its resolution of July 29, only made it clear that it was now free to launch a movement of mass disobedience as and when it was thought necessary and it was in this sense that the phrase 'direct action' was used. It is quite obvious that the meaning of 'direct action' which is attributed to us maliciously, namely that it is based on the principle of force, violence and bloodshed, is without any foundation and is absolutely untrue. Direct action means social pressure, strike or revolt constituting moral pressure upon the authority in power to redress our grievances and meet our demands.

Situation Intolerable

The present movement in the North West Frontier Province developed becasue the situation has become intolerable and the ministry could not be allowed to continue its ruthless policy of crushing the Muslims and Muslim League Organization in particular. The entire public has lost its confidence in this ministry and there is province-wide demand for the application of section 93 and fresh elections. Dr. Khan Sahib and his co-ministers were challenged to seek the verdict of the people, which they, in their extreme obstinacy, still refuse to do.

From all the information that is available to me and I have gone through this matter most carefully, I cannot disagree with the facts as they exist and as a result of the situation created by the Frontier ministry; thousands of people have been arrested, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and detained and clapped into jails under the Frontier Crimes

Regulations. The only honourable course for Dr. Khan Sahib and his co-ministers is to resign and seek fresh election.

I note that the Frontier Government subsequently issued a communique on April 19, in which inter alia they said: 'The government have for their part decided unconditionally to release 'as soon as conditions permit' all political prisoners who are not charged with offence of violence and the government have no intention interfering with the freedom of expression of political opinion or with peaceful meetings, but they must impress on all in the province that processions and picketing have in the past, proved an incitement to acts of lawlessness and that they cannot be permitted until normal conditions return.

"But the root cause still continues, I had hoped that better counsels would prevail and I do still hope that the situation will be examined dispassionately and in its true perspective by those concerned. The provincial Muslim League had, on the first of May, before the Frontier leaders came to Delhi to meet me, have declared that after full consideration we come to the conclusion that the steps so far proposed by the Frontier government in no way met the demands of the Muslim League and were, therefore, not acceptable to the League.

"They, therefore, decided not to call off the movement. The Frontier leaders could not also agree to their being released for they have not gone to the jails merely to be released. I sympathise with them and I am unable to disagree with them in the decision that they have taken. Nevertheless, we must recognise that the decision of the Frontier, in all its aspects, is now before His Majesty's Government and Lord Ismay is in the United Kingdom now, and in my opinion, it is a question of a few weeks when decisions concerning the whole of India are likely to be announced. It is quite obvious that the people of N.W.F.P. must be given a chance to express their verdict and the root cause of popular resentment must be eliminated. There is not the slightest doubt what the verdict will be and the present

ministry cannot possibly thereafter continue. Therefore, as I have always said, let us hope for the best and be prepared for the worst.

Protection of the Weak

"In these circumstances, I most earnestly appeal to every Muslim especially Leaguers, to do all in their power to remain peaceful. Without any reservation I say that on our side there should be no resort to violence or force and we must bear up with fortitude and show tolerance despite the gravest provocations. We should not depart from the strictly peaceful path which we are determined to follow. In no circumstances should the movement be allowed to take a communal turn. Our fight is not against the Hindus or Sikhs; we are fighting for a true verdict of people of the province to be obtained by fair and free methods.

"It is against all canons of morality and civilisation and the teachings of Islam that we should harm the weak. On the contrary it is the duty of every Mussalman to protect the minorities in spite of whatever provocation there may be. I know it can be said that it takes two to keep peace, but on our side, I say keep peace at any cost; and to the other side I may say: don't provoke and keep peace.

"I pray to God that during the few weeks that are now ahead of us, pending the final announcement, both sides will do their best and save people from destruction of life and property. When the final announcement has been made, it will be entirely for us and we will be free to decide as to what course of action we should adopt." (O.P.I.)

QAP-F-22/pp.93-96 & The Dawn, May 8, 1947.

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Speech at the 'At Home' given in his honour by the All India Muslim Newspapers Association, New Delhi, May 10, 1947.

"Let us march together firmly and with determination, unflinchingly and unfalteringly, and we shall achieve Pakistan. Every suffering and sacrifice you undergo is a credit to us. The Muslims throughout this sub-continent are today as one united, solid nation and we shall achieve our objective—Pakistan," declared Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah while speaking at a very largely attended 'At Home' given in his honour by the All-India Muslim Newspapers Association at the Hotel Imperial.

Mr. Jinnah replying to the welcome extended to him by the President of the Association, Mr Altaf Husain, said, "I thank you for the honour you have done me and for giving me an opportunity to meet the representatives of various newspapers and news agencies of India. Gentlemen, you know we had no press of any kind three years ago. I mean the Muslim Press. We were submerged in an ocean where the Hindus had practically the monopoly of the Press and this powerful instrument, which can be wielded for good or for bad, was wielded against us by the Congress and the Hindus.

"There was a time when it was difficult to find a Muslim who had even an elementary training in journalism and if there was one you had to fish him out and if he did come out on top he found himself like a fish out of water. There was a ring right round us."

"This ring", he added, "did not allow us to grow. In every department of life it was the same sad story. For the last ten years the Muslims were finding everything so difficult for themselves and they had to break that iron ring."

Mr. Jinnah went on: "I congratulate all of you present here that not only has that ring been broken but you are

consolidated today as one solid unit. It was only during the last three years that there was real progress made. The Indian languages Press existed before that but it was very poor. Urdu is going to be our national language but in the existing state of affairs English is almost indispensable. A few years ago there was hardly a single Muslim weekly not to speak of a daily. And then came '*Dawn*' that little ray of sunshine in Darya Ganj".

Mr. Jinnah congratulated Mr. Altaf Husain, the Editor of '*Dawn*' on the way he conducted the paper "standing all alone against heavy odds." There was also the *Star of India*, which had also done valuable work. The *Morning News* followed. Then Punjab woke up and only two months ago came out the *Pakistan Times* from Lahore, "the corner stone of Pakistan". And a month ago came out the *Morning Herald* from Bombay.

The Indian Languages Press had also consolidated its position." said the Quaid-i-Azam. Three years ago it was 100% in the hands of the Congress and the Hindus. "We have now a struggling news agency in the Orient Press of India."

The Dawn, May 11, 1947.

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Statement in reply to Mr. Patel's statement to the Associated Press of America, New Delhi, May 11, 1947.

My attention has been drawn to an interview given by Mr. Patel to the A.P.A. His solution comes to this: that all power should be immediately transferred to the Central Government as it now stands and a strong Central Government will then be able to maintain peace in the country; and the Viceroy and every other authority under the present constitution should stand out and the Government of India Act of 1935 should cease to function. And then Mr. Patel says, if there will be any conflict in

the Cabinet over any question, the Congress brute majority will rule in both the Cabinet and the present existing legislature. Then he will proceed with the existing administrative machinery, which is to be handed over to him throughout the country, with the Police and the armed forces, including the British troops, to put down everybody in the country and crush particularly the 100 million Musalmans. This is his prescription and way of keeping peace.

I note that he has now developed a sudden affection for "Dominion Status" and "Dominion functions". I wonder what has happened to the recent Resolutions passed by the Congress at its Sessions only a few months ago and the sister body, which the rump Constituent Assembly has now become, which is run by the Congress authoritative caucus, where they passed Resolutions solemnly deciding that India shall be an independent sovereign republic. The Muslim League will never agree to such a monstrous proposal as the one put forward by Mr. Patel to restore peace, which is only a dream of his.

Then he says that in case the British decided upon the division of India, power should by transferred to the Central Government and let the Viceroy stand out and not interfere, and he will have a strong Centre capable of dealing with the problems facing the country. This makes neither sense nor logic. If the British decide that India must be divided and it follows that the armed forces must be divided and Power transferred to the divided parts, then the Central Government must be dissolved and all power should be transferred to the two Constituent Assemblies formed and representing Pakistan and Hindustan. Mr. Patel says the Congress has always proclaimed it will not coerce any group or area which does not want to live with Hindustan, but what is the use of saying that the Congress has proclaimed that it will not coerce any group or area and all the time threatening those who want to separate with all sort of consequences and obstructing and making it more and more difficult for them to separate in a friendly way.

It is quite obvious that Mr. Patel and the Congress say that they will not compel any group or area to remain in Hindustan or use force but they are doing just the contrary. Why not agree? But now a new stunt has been started: that if you want division they will accept it; we are told that it will result in the division of the Punjab and Bengal. This is another sinister move and he threatens that if non-Muslims are forced into Pakistan there will be civil war. Mr. Patel cannot see that the demand for the division of India is based on the fundamental principle that we already have our national homelands, where we want to establish a national State. It is based entirely on a different principle as I have recently pointed out in a statement of mine whereas this new Congress stunt—the partition of Bengal and the Punjab—is started on the ground that the non-Muslim minorities there will not receive fair treatment from the Government of these provinces because the Muslims will be in a majority. The same argument applies with much greater force with regard to the Muslims and non-Caste Hindus in Hindu majority provinces, especially because the Muslims form a much smaller minority than the Hindus in the Punjab and Bengal. This must lead to the fragmentation of several provinces and this cannot be supported morally—and it is absolutely destructive—because it will lead to seriously breaking up the provinces economically; splitting up the Hindus and Sikhs, and politically not only dangerous for the present but more so in the future.

The next point Mr. Patel referred to was that division of India would be difficult to carry out by June 1948 and he visualized, perhaps years to effect the division, especially the army and emphasizes that the division of the army would cause delay. It is difficult for me to believe that His Majesty's Government has fixed the deadline of June 1948 at random. The issue of division of India has been before us since 1940 and the question of the division of defence was discussed threadbare with the Cabinet Delegation in March last year and for months

before their departure. Since then the alternative of division of India has received the closest attention of His Majesty's Government and the army authorities. And when the White Paper of 20th February contemplated one of the alternatives that power is to be transferred to the provinces, surely they could not have overlooked the question of defence. Transfer of power without division of the armed forces is meaningless. Besides, I see myself no difficulty in dividing the armed forces for Pakistan and Hindustan.

Lastly, Mr. Patel wants to make out that he is all saint of reasonableness and that I am the devil. He says," We asked him to refer the question to U.N.O. He says no and "We asked him to arbitrate, he again says no. Either Mr. Patel has not got a good memory or he deliberately wants to mislead the people in India and abroad. Last August Mr. Patel accused me of what he called intransigent attitude on my part and in reply I pointed out that the demand of Pakistan was based on the right of self-determination, which is the birthright of Musalmans, and it is not and cannot be a justifiable issue. Any intelligent man would understand that the right of self-determination is an inalienable right of a nation and the recognition of the sovereignty of the people of that nation by a democratic process and it cannot be made the subject of vote of two nations—Hindus and Muslims—and such a process if adopted, the result is a foregone conclusion because there is a brute Hindu majority of 3 to 1. Nor can it be made subject of arbitration by any other authority. Mr. Patel knows it but he is repeating this song to confuse people here and abroad by misrepresentation.

India Office Records, MSS. Eur. F. 200/160
& The Dawn, May 12, 1947.

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Message to the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen (Hyderabad, Dn.) New Delhi, May 15, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, who had been invited by the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, Hyderabad, to attend their annual session has sent the following message to the organisers of the session:

"I regret, I am unable to participate in your conference owing to the talks which are now going on in Delhi. I wish your conference every success. Your conference is taking place at the most critical juncture in the history of Hyderabad, Muslim India and all the peoples of this great subcontinent. May you be guided alright to take decisions at this critical moment."— (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, May 17, 1947.

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Advice to Bengal Muslims, New Delhi, May 18, 1947

Mr. Nurul Amin, Mr. Mohd. Habibullah Bahar and Mr. Yusuf Ali Choudhury of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, who met Mr. Jinnah in New Delhi returned to Calcutta.

Interviewed Mr. Bahar said "Mr. Jinnah told us in unequivocal terms that he did not authorise anyone to give any commitment on behalf of the Muslim League.

"He went further. He said that even he was not going to commit himself without consulting the Working Committee, though he had the formal authority to do so."

Mr. Bahar continued: "Mr. Jinnah told us that he would not move from Delhi for some time to come. He requested us to

be in touch with him and apprise him of the situation in the province from time to time."

In conclusion, Mr. Bahar said "Mr. Jinnah in course of his conversion with us asked the Muslims of Bengal to activise their organisation. A thoroughly organised Muslim League in Bengal, he said, would serve as the panacea of all evils".

The Star of India, May 21, 1947

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Message to the Muslims of Baluchistan, New Delhi, May 20, 1947.

"Pakistan is in sight and Baluchistan will be a part of it", said Mr. M.A. Jinnah in a message to the Muslims of Baluchistan sent through Haji Surat Khan, President of the Loralai, Baluchistan District, Muslim League, who met him here.

Mr. Jinnah said that this was not the time to raise petty domestic questions when the Muslims were engaged in a life and death struggle.

Mr. Jinnah said: "Muslims of Baluchistan should remain solidly united under the Muslim League and when Pakistan is established and we have our own Government, we will take up all matters and every question will be settled justly and fairly, but till then unity and discipline should be our motto". (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, May 21, 1947.

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Interview with Mr. Doon Campbell, Reuter's Correspondent, New Delhi, May 21, 1947.

In response to questions put by Mr. Doon Campbell, Reuter's correspondent, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, on the 21st May, 1947, highlighted that a corridor between Eastern and Western Pakistan, friendly and reciprocal relations between Hindustan and Pakistan, a military alliance, pact or treaty between the two and membership of the United Nations for Pakistan is most essential.

The following is the full text of questions and answers:

Q. What sort of relationship do you envisage between Pakistan and Hindustan?

Ans. Friendly and reciprocal in the mutual interest of both. That is why I have been urging that let us separate in a friendly way and remain friends thereafter.

Q. How would you divide the armed forces? Do you envisage a defence pact or any other kind of military alliance between Pakistan and Hindustan?

Ans. All the armed forces must be divided completely, but I do envisage an alliance, pact or treaty between Pakistan and Hindustan again in the mutual interest of both and against any aggressive outsider.

Partition of Provinces

Q. Do you favour a federation of Pakistan states even if there is to be partition of Punjab and Bengal?

Ans. The new damour for partition that is stated is by the vocal section of the caste Hindus in Bengal and the Sikhs in particular in the Punjab will have disastrous results if those two provinces are partitioned and the Sikhs in the Punjab will be the

greatest sufferers; and Muslims under contemplated Western Punjab will no doubt be hit, but it certainly will deal the greatest blow to those, particularly the Sikhs, for whose benefit the new stunt has been started. Similarly in Western Bengal, caste Hindus will suffer the most and so will the caste Hindus in Eastern Punjab.

Reckless Idea

This idea of partition is not only thoughtless and reckless, but if unfortunately His Majesty's Government favours it, in my opinion it will be a grave error and will prove dangerous immediately and far more so in the future. Immediately it will lead to bitterness and unfriendly attitude between Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal and same will be the case with torn Punjab, between Western Punjab and Eastern Punjab.

Partition of Punjab and Bengal if effected, will no doubt weaken Pakistan to a certain extent. Weak Pakistan and a strong Hindustan will be a temptation for the strong Hindustan to try to dictate. I have always said that Pakistan must be sufficiently strong as a balance vis-a-vis Hindustan. I am therefore, deadly against the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and we shall fight every inch against it.

Q. Will you demand a corridor through Hindustan connecting the Eastern and Western Pakistan States?

Ans. Yes.

No Pan Islamic States

Q. Do you envisage the formation of a Pan-Islamic state stretching from the Far and Middle East to the Far East after establishment of Pakistan?

Relations With Muslim States

Ans. The theory of Pan-Islamic has long ago exploded, but we shall certainly establish friendly relations and co-operate for

mutual good and world peace and we shall always stretch our hand of friendship to the near and Middle East and Far East after the establishment of Pakistan.

Q. On what basis will be the central administration of Pakistan be set up? What will be the attitude of this Government to the Indian States?

Ans. The basis of the central administration of Pakistan and that of the units to be set up will be decided no doubt, by Pakistan Constituent Assembly. But the Government of Pakistan can only be a popular representative and democratic form of Government. Its Parliament and Cabinet responsible to the Parliament will both be finally responsible to the electorate and the people in general without any distinction of caste, creed or sect, which will be the final deciding factor with regard to the policy and programme of the Government that may be adopted from time to time.

Indian States

"As regards our attitude towards Indian states I may make it clear once more that the policy of the Muslim League has been and is not to interfere with the Indian states with regard to their internal affairs. But while we expect as rapid a progress as possible in the various states towards the establishment of full responsible Government, it is primarily the concern of the ruler and his people.

As regards the position of the states in the light of the announcement made by His Majesty's Government embodied in the White Paper of the 20th February, I wish to make it clear that the states are at liberty to form a confederation as one solid group or confederate into more than one groups, or stand as individual states. It is a matter entirely for them to decide. And it is clear, as I can understand, that paramountcy is going to terminate and, therefore they are completely independent and free. It is for them to adjust such matter as there may be by

virtue of their treaties and agreements with the paramount power. They must consider as completely independent and free states, free from any paramountcy, as to what is best in their interest and it will be open to them to decide whether they should join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly—Constituent Assemblies must be and will be two sovereign Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan.

United Nations

Q. In general term what will be the foreign policy of Pakistan. Will it apply for membership of the United Nations?

Ans. The foreign policy of Pakistan can only be for peace and friendly relations with all other nations and we shall certainly play our part in the membership of the United Nations.

Q. On which major power is Pakistan most likely to lean?

Ans. The one that will be in our best interests. It will not be a case of leaning to any power, but we shall certainly establish friendship and alliances which will be for the benefit of all those who may enter into such an alliance.

Q. What sort of relationship do you envisage between Pakistan and Britain?

Ans. The question can only be decided by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and as I understand the situation, relationship between Pakistan and British can be established which will be really beneficial for both. Pakistan cannot live in isolation, nor can any other nation do so today. We shall have to choose our friends and I trust, wisely.

Minorities

Q. What are your views in regard to the protection of minorities in Pakistan territories?

Ans. There is only one answer: The minorities must be protected and safeguarded. The minorities in Pakistan will be the citizens of Pakistan and enjoy all the rights, privileges and obligations of citizenship without any distinction of caste creed or sect.

They will be treated justly and fairly. The Government will run the administration and control the legislative measures by its Parliament and the collective conscience of the Parliament itself will be a guarantee that the minorities need not have any apprehension of any injustice being done to them. Over and above that there will be provisions for the protection and safeguard of the minorities which in my opinion must be embodied in the constitution itself. And this will leave no doubt as to the fundamental rights of the citizens, protection of religion and faith of every section, freedom of thought and protection of their cultural and social life. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, May 22, 1947.

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Broadcast Speech from the All-India Radio, giving his reactions to June 3rd Plan, New Delhi, June 3, 1947.

The following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's broadcast:

"I am glad that I am afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from New Delhi. It is the first time I believe that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address people through the medium of this powerful instrument on political matters. It augurs well, and I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions which will reach you directly, life-warm, rather than in the cold print of the newspapers.

The statement of His Majesty's Government embodying the plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India, has

already been broadcast and will be released to the press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outlines of the plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problems of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400 milion people. The world has no parallel of the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.

Leaders' Responsibility

Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community, and particularly to Muslim India, to maintain peace and order.

We must examine the plan, its letter and spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decsions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner, having regard to the sum total of plan as a whole.

It is clear that the Plan does not meet, in some important respects, our point of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us now to consider whether the plan, as presented to us by His Majesty's Government, should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement.

On this point I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All India Muslim League which has been summoned to meet on June 9. The final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our constitution precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather, on the whole the reaction in Muslim League circles in New Delhi has been hopeful. Of course the plan has got to be very carefully

examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken.

Tribute to Viceroy

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality. It is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him, as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of transfer of power to the peoples of India, in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now the plan that has been broadcast already makes it clear in paragraph II that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph IV they wish to adopt; and the referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the provincial government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier province will be obtained as to whether they want to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly.

Call to Pathans

In these circumstances, I request the provincial Muslim League of the Frontier province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Musalmans generally to organize our people to face this referendum with hope and courage, and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Musalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame, and

this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathize with all those who have suffered and those who died or whose properties were subjected to destruction and I fervently hope that Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner and it should be the anxiety of everyone to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order. *Pakistan Zindabad.*

The Dawn, June 4, 1947.

998

Speech at the special session of the Council of the All India Muslim League, New Delhi, June 9, 1947.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, then, in a brief address to the Council, explained to the members the full implications of the new plan of HMG for the transfer of power. He invited the Councillors to have a free and frank discussion on the plan. After that a number of Councillors from various provinces expressed their views on the plan.

In the evening session of the Council, it is learnt, Quaid-e-Azam after his address which lasted well over an hour, asked the House whether the closure to the debate should be applied. The House agreed and the resolution was put to the vote and carried by an overwhelming majority, only 8 voting against the resolution.

The Dawn, June 10, 1947.

999

Telegram to King Abdul Aziz
Ibne Saud of Saudi Arabia,
New Delhi, June 10, 1947.

"Extremely grateful your good wishes and greetings to Muslim India on historical occasion of establishment of Pakistan. I join you in your prayer that almighty may guide our steps in the cause of peace and help us to cement bonds of Muslim brotherhood and we may stand united on solid rock of Islam."(A.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 11, 1947.

1000

Telegram to His Majesty King
Abdullah Bin Hussain of Jordan,
New Delhi, June 10, 1947.

"Extremely grateful your good wishes and greetings to Muslim India on historical occasion of establishment of Pakistan. I join you in your prayer that almighty may guide our steps in the cause of peace and help us to cement bonds of Muslim brotherhood and we may stand united on the solid rock of Islam". (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 11, 1947.

1001

Appeal to the Frontier people to
vote for Pakistan in the referendum,
New Delhi, June 15, 1947.

The Nawab of Tonk, Deputy Leader, Frontier Muslim League Assembly Party and Haji Mohammad Hamzah Khan,

President, D.I.Khan Muslim League have issued the following statement to the Press; "We were much impressed with the Council meeting at Delhi where we saw Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah anxious about the Frontier referendum. He has full sympathies with all those Muslims who suffered during communal riots.

The Quaid-e-Azam gave the following message to the Frontier people:

"Now when Pakistan has been achieved by the grace of Allah and with your sacrifices, wait for two months more and vote for Pakistan in the referendum. If you win it, as you shall (*inshallah*), you will get rid of the Congress raj and your own Government would be established where you would rule according to your wishes. It is the duty of every Frontier Muslim to vote for Pakistan and establish their own Government.

The Dawn, June 18, 1947.

1002

Appeal to Muslims to contribute to Pakistan Fund, New Delhi, June 16, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in a statement issued appealed to every Muslim to contribute to the "PAKISTAN FUND" which was to be set up and utilised for various tasks connected with partition.

"We have to face, gradually, various steps and important issues which arise in the working out of the plan of June 3, to give effect to the division of India. Firstly, we have to meet the referendum in the North West Frontier Province within a very short time which is very vital. We have also to meet the referendum in Baluchistan and in Sylhet in Assam.

"Besides, with regard to the procedure laid down for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal coming into operation, definite dates have already been fixed for them to take their decision. We shall have to complete the Pakistan Constituent

Assembly very soon and set up our committees of experts and specialists as advisers to the Constituent Asembly in the framing of the ultimate constitution of Pakistan and in assisting the Constituent Assembly, which will function as a Sovereign body, with all Government powers of Pakistan until the final constitution emerges when the Government of Pakistan will come into being and function according to the final constitution framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

"So, we are going on, and we have yet to proceed with the partition of the entire assets and liabilities of the Central Government, including defence, finance, communications etc. for that purpose machineries are being set up. This is a stupendous task and we are moving with lightning speed and rapidity.

"I, therefore, appeal to the Mussalmans to send me their contributions without delay. Without finance this gigantic task cannot be performed satisfactorily. I am sure that every Muslim will appreciate and understand how necessary it is at this moment to give his or her help immediately.

I think the best course that can be adopted is that every one who wants to help us should send his or her donation or contribution directly to the Habib Bank Ltd. Chandni Chowk, Delhi. This fund will be earmarked as "Pakistan Fund" and the bank will keep a separate account of it.

The funds will be utilized particularly for the various purposes referred to above and generally for the work in various spheres of activities before our Pakistan Government is established.". (A.P.I.)

QAP-F-682/282-83 &
The Dawn, June 17, 1947.

1003

Statement acknowledging greetings from all over India, particularly from the NWFP Tribal Areas, New Delhi, June 17, 1947.

"I have received thousands of letters and telegrams of congratulations, greetings and good wishes from all over India and abroad. It is physically impossible for me to reply to each one of those who have sent me their messages and I am very grateful to all of them for their sympathy, good wishes and greetings.

"Particularly, I thank our Muslim brethern of the Tribal Areas across the North-West Frontier Province for their messages of good wishes and greetings, which have come in large numbers, and I take this opportunity to assure them that we shall, adjust and settle our affairs in a brotherly way. There is no desire on our part to interfere with their freedom. We shall be happy to meet them and enter into such arrangements with them, as would be in the mutual interests of both, and the Muslims generally. (A.P.I.).

The Dawn, June 18, 1947.

1004

Statement regarding the States, New Delhi, June 17, 1947.

With the termination of paramountcy, Indian States would be free to join either the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or to remain independent."

The Quaid-i-Azam further said:

"There is a great deal of controversy going on with regard to the Indian States, and I am, therefore, obliged to state the position of the All-India Muslim League so that there should

be no misunderstanding as to what the Muslim League stands for and what our policy is with regard to the Indian States.

"Constitutionally and legally, the Indian States will be independent sovereign States on the termination of paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like; it is open to them to join the Hindustan or Pakistan Constituent Assembly, or decide to remain independent. In the last case, they enter into such arrangements or relationship with Hindustan or Pakitan as they may choose.

"The policy of the All-India Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning. We do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of any State, for that is a matter primarily to be resolved between the rulers and the peoples of the States. Such States as wish to enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of their free will and desire to discuss or negotiate with us, shall find us ready and willing to do so. If they wish to remain independent and wish to negotiate or adjust any political or any other relationship such as commercial or economic relations with Pakistan, we shall be glad to discuss with them and come to a settlement which will be in the interest of both.

HMG's Policy

"I am clearly of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission's memorandum of May 12, defining the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the Indian States, does not in any way limit them as it is often wrongly repeated, that they have no option except to join one or the other Constituent Assembly. In my opinion, they are free to remain independent if they so desire, neither the British Government nor the British Parliament compel them to do anything contrary to their free will and accord nor have they any power or sanction of any kind to do so.

"The British Government have made it clear that paramountcy will not be transferred to any Government or Governments or authority that may be set up in British India,

and that itself shows that paramountcy cannot be transferred, but is going to terminate. On its termination, the full sovereign status of the Indian States emerges." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 18, 1947.

1005

Statement announcing the appointment of members of the Referendum Committee, New Delhi, June 17, 1947.

Quaid-e-Azam, M.A.Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League has issued the following statement to the Press:-

"I have appointed a Committee consisting of Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and Syed Wajid Ali, to supervise and control the Muslim League organization in the North-West Frontier Province and to make arrangements to face the referendum which is going to be held in the Frontier for the people to decide whether they would join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. I am confident that the verdict of the Frontier will be in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly wherein it will play a magnificent part which the people of the Frontier are destined to play in the governance of Pakistan.

"This Committee will remain in close contact and touch with me from time to time and will be guided by me in making all the arrangements that will be necessary for our effectively participating in the referendum. (O.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 18, 1947.

1006

Statement regarding "Mopalistan" and message to the Muslims of Madras, New Delhi, June 19, 1947.

The question of safeguards and right of Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces and the establishment of "Mopalistan" in the Madras Province figured prominently in the talks between Quaid-i-Azam and members of the All-India Muslim League Council from Madras recently, the Orient Press learns from a reliable source.

Quaid-i-Azam, it is understood told them that these very important matters relating to the welfare of the Muslims of minority provinces should be referred to the Muslim members of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly so that they might represent the case of Muslims to that body which would frame the constitution of the whole Hindustan area.

In this connection, it is learnt, that the Muslim members of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly will be asking for assurance, before taking their seats in the Constituent Assembly from the President of the Assembly that Muslims will be represented adequately in the various committees already set up by the Assembly.

When requested by the Madras members of the All-India Muslim League to give a message to the Muslims of Madras, Quaid-i-Aam said, "I am really very proud of the Muslims of Madras province who stood as one man behind the All-India Muslim League. On every occasion they have given good proof of their unity and solidarity. The organisation of the Madras Provincial Muslim League, District Leagues and Primary Leagues is admirable." (O.P.I.)

The Eastern Times, June 20, 1947.

1007

Appeal to Muslims in Baluchistan to vote in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, June 25, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, issued the following statement.

"It has now been decided that the referendum in Baluchistan should be held on June 30 and I appeal to every Musalman to vote in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and not the Hindustan Constituent Assembly.

"I hope that the members of the electorate composed of the *Shahi Jirga*, excluding *Sardar* nominated by the Kalat State and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality, who will be called upon to give the verdict, will realize that apart from the fact that Baluchistan can only exist in Pakistan politically, geographically and economically, it will be in the interest of the people of Baluchistan to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly for it is Pakistan alone that can help them in their educational, social, economic and political uplift.

"I can assure the people of Baluchistan that in Pakistan all classes and interests will get even justice and fairplay and I hope that they will not be misled by the propaganda of our enemies, putting class against class and one particular interest against another.

"The salvation of Musalmans lies in our complete unity, solidarity and discipline and above all trust and confidence in the leader who has served you for the last ten years.

"I hope that you, who have been called upon to take this decision, will unanimously decide in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly." (By Dawn Special Correspondent.)

The Dawn, June 26, 1947.

1008

Appeal to Muslims of Sylhet, New Delhi, June 26, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a statement to the Press appealed to every Muslim to cast his or her vote in favour of the Sylhet District being amalgamated with the new province of East Bengal, which will not only strengthen Eastern Pakistan but will also be a boon to the Muslims of Sylhet.

"Now that it has been officially announced that the referendum in Sylhet (Assam) will be held on July 6 and 7, I have appointed a committee consisting of Mirza Ahmad Isphani, Mr. Moazzam-ud-Din Husain and Mr. A. W. Baakza to organize and help the Muslims of Sylhet in every way to face the forthcoming referendum and I have been assured by them that they will do their best and help the Muslims of Sylhet in every way.

"I, therefore, request all the leaders and workers of the Muslim League in Sylhet to get in close touch with the committee and work in full co-operation and complete harmony as a united and disciplined people in Assam, and I appeal to every Musalman to cast his or her vote in favour of Sylhet district being amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal.

"It is my fervent hope and prayer that the verdict of the Muslims of Sylhet, on whom the responsibility to take the decision mainly rests, will be in favour of Sylhet's amalgamation with East Bengal. Muslims there are in the powerful majority and if they vote solidly as I advise them to do, it will not only strengthen Eastern Pakistan but it will be a boon to the Muslims of Sylhet. On both these grounds, I appeal to every Muslim voter to cast his or her vote in favour of the amalgamation of Sylhet with East Bengal which will also carry with it the contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts which will then be tranferred to Eastern Pakistan.

"A grave responsibility now rests with the voters and supporters of Pakistan. At this moment, which is the most vital and crucial one in our history, you have to decide this most important issue and I feel confident that your verdict will be in favour of Sylhet being amalgamated with Eastern Bengal." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 27, 1947.

1009

Statement on the Congress demand for a free Pathan State, New Delhi, June 28, 1947.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement on the N.W.F.P. said that the resolution of the Frontier Congress demanding a free Pathan State of all the Pakhtoon is a direct breach of the acceptance by the Congress of HMG's plan of June 3.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah adds: "I want the Muslims of the Frontier to understand that they are Muslims first and Pathans afterwards and that the Province will meet a disastrous fate if it does not join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

"The three and a half million people of that Province which is economically deficit will not be able to stand even for a few months by themselves and politically and geographically the Province will be reduced to a nonentity. To begin with the Province will be a liability to Pakistan although it has potentialities. For all these considerations Mr. Jinnah appeals to every Muslim in the Frontier to vote in favour of joining the Pakistan Consembly.

Following is the full text of the statement:-

"I regret that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has not, as arranged, so far communicated to me the decision of the

Frontier Congress organization, but the text of their resolution has been released to the Press and was published on June 23. I am, therefore, obliged now to deal with the matter according to the Press reports.

The resolution lays down:

(1) That a free Pathan State of all the Pakhtoon should be established.

(2) That the constitution of the State should be framed on the basis of Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice.

(3) It appeals to all the Pathans to unite for the attainment of this cherished goal and not to submit to any non-Pakhtoon domination.

Insidious Demand

"This resolution is a direct breach of the acceptance by the Congress of His Majesty's Government's Plan of June 3. The Congress accepted the plan finally at their meeting of the AICC on June 15 and Mr. Gandhi in his speech at the meeting of the AICC also finally not only himself accepted the plan but urged upon the AICC to do so.

"The plan 'interalia' provides for a referendum in the NWFP on the question whether the province would join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or whether it wishes to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. This in fact, is a vote whether the NWFP should form part of Hindustan or Pakistan and there is no other alternative at issue whatsoever.

"After the plan having been accepted by the AICC, the Frontier Congress organization was bound to honour this agreement and acceptance by the Congress of which they are part and parcel; the Frontier representatives of the Congress were present in the Congress Working Committee as well as in the AICC and the decision was taken finally in their presence.

"It follows, therefore that the Congress are bound to honour the terms of the plan, but, instead Mr. Gandhi has since been expressing views at his prayer meetings which are calculated to encourage the Khan Brothers to sabotage the plan, to incite the people of the Frontier and to disrupt the Muslims of the NWFP.

"Never before was such an insidious and spurious demand put forward for the establishment of a free Pathan State of all the Pakhtoon by the Khan Brothers or anybody else. This is a new stunt recently started and slogans are being invented to mislead the people of the NWFP.

"The second cry is disingenuous and calculated to mislead the Pathans when they say that the constitution of the proposed Pathanistan will be framed on the basis of Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice, thereby insinuating that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, which will be composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims will disregard the Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice.

"There is no truth in it nor is there any ground or reason for it. This is only a subterfuge on their part intended to mislead the Muslims of the NWFP.

"The Khan Brothers, specially Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is proud to call himself the Frontier Gandhi have not the monopoly of true Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice: and, till yesterday, they were wedded to nationalism, the theory of one Indian nation and the Congress demand for a strong Federal Government for All India.

New "Volte Face"

"This sudden and new volte face is a piece of pure political chicanery and a manoeuvre intended to prop up the Khan clique in power and it pains me that it has received the apostolic blessings of Mr. Gandhi who has declared himself most

anxious to see that fratricidal fight amongst the Pathans is avoided at all costs.

"It is obvious to any intelligent man that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, as it has been repeatedly explained by me, can only frame a constitution in which the Frontier Province will be an autonomous unit and as such, the people of the Frontier will be their own masters regulating their social, cultural and educational matters besides the general administration of the Province, as a unit of the Pakistan Federal Government like any other Province or unit in Pakistan.

Poisonous Cry

"But the Khan Brothers in their statements and interviews to the Press have raised another poisonous cry that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will disregard the fundamental principles of the '*Shariat*' and the Quranic Laws.

"This again, is absolutely untrue. More than 13 centuries have gone by and in spite of bad weather and fair that the Musalmans had to pass through, we have not been only proud of our great and Holy Book the Quran, but we have adhered to all fundamentals all these ages; and now suddenly this cry has been raised insinuating that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims cannot be trusted.

"What would have happened to the Khan Brothers, who have now suddenly started out-Heroding Herod in their championship of Islam and Quranic Laws in the Hindu Constituent Assembly with a brute majority of the Hindus which they willingly joined without demur?

"I want the Muslims of the Frontier Province clearly to understand that they are Muslims first and Pathans afterwards: and that the Province will meet a disastrous fate if it does not join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The three and half million people of that Province which is economically deficit will not be able to stand even for a few months by themselves and

politically and geographically the Province will be reduced to a nonentity.

A Liability to Pakistan

Although there are great potentialities for the NWFP to make its contribution to Pakistan in times to come it will be to start with a liability to Pakistan financially and the other Provinces and units like Punjab, Bengal and Sind will have to foot the Bill in order to raise the people of the Frontier to a higher level economically and socially to say nothing of the defence.

"For all these considerations I appeal to every Muslim in the NWFP in the interest of solidarity of Pakistan and the vital interest of the Province to vote solid in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Finally, I appeal to you not to slacken your efforts and not to be pulled into the belief that our opponents have decided to boycott the referendum but be vigilant and record every vote in favour of Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

The Khan Brothers are the last ditchers and we want to expose thoroughly the fraud that they have practised upon the Muslims of the NWFP for nearly a decade. They have succeeded in the past in bamboozling and misleading the Pathans at the bidding of outside authority of the Congress.

Give Your Verdict

"Let us hope that they will not succeed in depriving the Pathans for all time and that you will give your clear and thumping verdit in favour of the Frontier Province joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

"I take this opportunity to thank the tribal areas for the message of good wishes and greetings that they have sent me and I may again state that the Muslim League and the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will honour and respect their freedom

and will be always ready and willing to come to brotherly understanding with them which will be to the advantage of both.

"Therefore, do not be mislead by any false propaganda that the Muslim League has any intention or design to interfere with the complete freedom of our brethern there, who have resisted all efforts to interfere with them and have remained so far free people. I am happy that we are also now going to be completely free people in Pakistan and we shall only do what is best and in the interests of both. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, June 29, 1947.

1010

Message to London Muslim League, New Delhi, July 7, 1947.

Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, who was invited by the London Muslim League to attend a dinner party on July 9, to celebrate the achievement of Pakistan, has sent the following telegraphic message to the President of London Muslim League:

"Many thanks for your invitation to join the dinner in celebration of Pakistan. There remains the far greater task of constructing and building up Pakistan which will require every ounce of our energy, but by the grace of God we shall build up this new greatest Muslim sovereign State in the world with complete unity, discipline and faith.

"Muslim India will discharge its responsibility with full credit and make its contribution towards world peace.

"I whole heartedly share your joy in celebrating this occasion for which there is no parallel in history." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 8, 1947.

1011

Statement demanding release of Kashmir detenus, New Delhi, July 11, 1947.

"The Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference leaders, Chaudhry Hamidullah Khan and Mr. Muhammad Ishaque Qureshi had an interview with me and they informed me of the situation there which is making the people restive. They placed before me the question of the detention of the Muslim Conference leaders who have been in jail now for nine months without trial. Their only offence was that they held the Muslim Conference session in spite of prohibitory orders of the Government. But they soon dispersed, and did not proceed with their business. Only six leaders were arrested to which no resistance was offered and everything went off peacefully. For such a technical offence they have already suffered for nine months and I see no justification for their continued detention.

"I hope that the Maharaja and the Prime Minister of Kashmir will realize the fast-changing circumstances and wisdom demands that the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims who form 80 percent of the population should not be ignored, much less hurt.

"The second question that is engaging the attention of the Muslims of Kashmir is whether Kashmir is going to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. I have already made it clear more than once that the Indian States are free to join either the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or remain independent. I have no doubt that the Maharaja and the Kashmir Government will give their attention and consideration to this matter and realize the interests not only of the Ruler but also of his people. We have made it clear that we are not going to coerce, intimidate or put any pressure on any State making its choice. But those states who wish to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will find us ready and willing to negotiate with them agreement for the mutual advantage of both. Those who wish to declare their

complete independence may be beneficial for both and secure mutual and reciprocal interest." (A.P.I.)

The Star of India, July 13, 1947.

1012

Statement on protection for minorities in Pakistan, New Delhi, July 13, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Governor-General designate of Pakistan, at a press conference, assured the minorities in the Pakistan Dominion that they would have protection with regard to their religion, faith, life, property and culture. They would, in all respects, be citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination and no doubt along with it they would have the obligations of citizenship. The minorities would have to be loyal to the State and owe true allegiance to the State.

The same principle, Mr. Jinnah emphasised, would apply to the minorities in India as well. One cannot have minorities disloyal to the State and sabotaging the State. Every citizen must be loyal to his State.

Pakistan's Goodwill

Mr. Jinnah sincerely hoped that the relations between Pakistan and India would be friendly and cordial. Speaking for Pakistan, he said, there would be no want of goodwill.

Mr. Jinnah denied the suggestion that the Muslim League had first agreed to have a common Governor-General of India and Pakistan, later on, backed out. The Governor-General of Pakistan and Hindustan had been chosen by the successor authorities, namely, the Congress and the Muslim League, and, as such, were the chosen of the people.

Mr. Jinnah announced that Pakistan Constituent Assembly would hold its meeting at Karachi on August 10.

Devoid of Truth

"It is stated in the press." said Mr. Jinnah, "that the League had agreed to a common Governor-General and then later on, backed out. Let me tell you that it is entirely devoid of any truth and I am surprised that even responsible men have been misrepresenting and making these false allegations. I do not want to say anything more on this point."

"There was a wrong conception with regard to the choosing of the Governors-General," Mr. Jinnah went on. "Normally, the Governors-General would have been appointed upon the advice of the Ministers of the Cabinet. But, in the exceptional circumstances, it had been arranged that the successor authorities should chose the Governors-General and His Majesty accepted that arrangement and, therefore, I want to make it quite clear that the Governors-General of Pakistan and Hindustan are chosen by the successor authorities, namely, the Muslim League and the Congress.

Chosen of the People

Therefore, the Governors-General are the chosen of the people, and not, as it is ordinarily understood, appointed by the King, as one who holds the office and as was the practice in India in the past. That is rather an important point I wish to make clear."

Q. Does not the Governor-General hold office during His Majesty's pleasure?

Mr. Jinnah. It is purely a form: nothing but a form. The Governors-General are the chosen of the people and that is the reason why I have accepted this honour.

Q. Could you as Governor-General make a brief statement on the minorities problem?

Citizens of Pakistan

Mr. Jinnah. At present I am only Governor-General-designate. We will assume for a moment that on August 15, I

shall be really the Governor-General of Pakistan. On that assumption, let me tell you that I shall not depart from what I said repeatedly with regard to the minorities. Every time I spoke about the minorities I meant what I said and what I said I meant.

Minorities to whichever community they may belong; will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed.

They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibilities also and they will play their part in the affairs of this State. As long as the minorities are loyal to the State and owe true allegiance and as long as I have any power, they need have no apprehension of any kind.

Q. You said that minorities in Pakistan, if they are loyal, will be dealt with generously and justly. May we take it this applies to Muslims in Hindustan as well?

Loyalty to State

Mr. Jinnah. It applied to any minority, anywhere in the world. You cannot have a minority which is disloyal and plays the role of sabotaging the State. That minority, of course, becomes intolerable in any State. I advise Hindus and Muslims, both of them; I advise every citizen to be loyal to his State.

Q. Would your interest in the Muslims of Hindustan continue as it is today.

Interest in Hindustan

Mr. Jinnah. My interest will be continued in India in every citizen and particularly the Mussalmans.

Q. As President of the All India Muslim League, what measures do you propose to adopt to assure the safety of Muslims in Hindu provinces?

Mr. Jinnah. All that I hope for is that the Muslims, in the Indian State will be treated just as we propose to treat non-Muslim minorities. I have stated the broad principles of policy, but the actual question of safeguards and protection for minorities in the respective States can only be dealt with by the Constituent Assembly.

Q. You must have seen reports that in one or two provinces Congress ministries have indicated their intention of abolishing separate electorates and weightages.

Mr. Jinnah. I cannot go into these details. The actual provisions with regard to protection and safeguards can only be discussed in the two Constituent Assemblies, where the minorities are represented.

Q. Will they be discused by the Constituent Assemblies jointly or separately?

Problem for Consemblies

Mr. Jinnah. I cannot prophesy. In the first instance, it is really the domain of each Constituent Assembly. Representative of the minorities are in both Constituent Assemblies and therefore, those are problems of the Constituent Assemblies of India and Pakistan to deal with. I can only express the hope that they will be dealt with in a manner which will give the minorities a sense of security and confidence. I cannot discuss the details.

Q. What are your comments on the recent statements and speeches by certain Congress leaders to the effect that if Hindus in Pakistan are treated badly, they will treat Muslim in Hindustan worse?

Mr. Jinnah. I hope they will get over this madness and follow the line I am suggesting. It is no use picking up the

statements of this man here or that man there. You must remember that in* every society there are crooks, cranks and what I call mad people (laughter) in every part of the world and this is hardly the place where we can say, what about this man's statement.

Q. Would you like the minorities to stay in Pakistan or would you like the exchange of population?

Matter for Minorities Alone

Mr. Jinnah. As far as I can speak for Pakistan I say that there is no reason for any apprehension on the part of the minorities in Pakistan. It is for them to decide what they should do. All I can say is that there is no reason for any apprehension so far as I can speak about Pakistan. It is for them to decide. I cannot order them.

Secular or Theocratic

Q. Will Pakistan be a secular or theocratic state?

Mr. Jinnah: You are asking me a question that is absurd. I do not know what a theocratic state means.

A correspondent suggested that a theocratic state meant a state where only people of a particular religion, for example, Muslims, could be full citizens and non-Muslims would not be full citizens.

Mr. Jinnah. Then it seems to me that what I have already stated is like throwing water on duck's back (laughter). For goodness sake, get out of your head the nonsense that is being talked about. What this theocratic state means I do not understand.

Another correspondent suggested that the questioner meant a state run by Maulanas.

Mr. Jinnah. What about the Government ran by Pundits in Hindustan? (laughter)

"When you talk of democracy", Mr. Jinnah went on. "I am afraid you have not studied Islam. We learnt democracy thirteen centuries ago".

Cordial Relations

Asked what would be the relations between Pakistan and India, Mr. Jinnah said: "I have already answered that long before and I repeat it here. I sincerely hope that they will be friendly and cordial. We have a great deal to do, both States, and I think that we can be of use to each other, not to say the world. Being neighbours, from our side I do not think you will find goodwill wanting and I hope and appeal to the press and news agencies to impress this more upon Hindustan.

Governor-General's Powers

Q. After your appointment as Governor-General, will you resign the Presidentship of the Muslim League?

Mr. Jinnah. I do not know. As Governor-General I am getting deeper and deeper into politics. I shall have to deal more with realities now.

Q. Will the powers of Governor-General of Pakistan be the conventional powers of a Dominion Governor-General?

Mr. Jinnah. It is all there in the wording of the India Independence Bill. You better study that Bill. There are going to be adaptations from the India Act of 1935. At any rate up to March 31, 1945, there are many powers which are vested in the Governor-General.

Q. Does the adaptation you refer to pertain to the present powers of the Governor-General?

Mr. Jinnah. To begin with, it does. It will depend again upon the adaptation which is now in the process of being drafted which may be accepted by each State. The Bill itself says that immediately the present system of Government — administrative, legislative and so on—cannot be snapped

straightaway. Therefore, during the transitional period, certain adaptations have got to be made until the final constitution emerges from the Constituent Assemblies of the two States. These adaptations are still being hammered out, but this is all subject to the supreme power of the Constituent Assemblies to change anything they like after August 15.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy

"Pakistan's foreign policy", said Mr. Jinnah, in reply to further questions, "would be most friendly to all nations. We stand for peace in the world. We will make our contribution, whatever we can do.

Q. Will Pakistan seek admission into the U.N.O. and have diplomatic representation abroad?

Mr. Jinnah. Let me get into the saddle and then I will tell you what we will do.

Q. Is there any possibility of Pakistan continuing to remain in the British Commonwealth?

Mr. Jinnah. We shall consider that question when the time comes.

Q. Is it not a fact that according to the Lahore Resolution, Pakistan will have to be a sovereign State?

Mr. Jinnah. We have got all the powers, absolute, full powers, to do what we like?

Question of Princes

Q. When you say that States can either declare themselves independent or join either Constituent Assembly is it the princes or the people who assume sovereign status?

Mr. Jinnah. Referring to the first part of the question, I have said so already and now, Mr. Attlee has also made it clear.

Q. Are you satisfied with the way Partition Council is working?

Mr. Jinnah. So far, yes, I cannot say more. So far, it is satisfactory?

Mr. Jinnah refused to discuss the structure of the Government of Pakistan, as that was a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide.

Q. What is your personal opinion?

Mr. Jinnah. No responsible man expressed his personal opinions in anticipation of the decision of a supreme body like the Constituent Assembly, whose function it is to frame the constitution."

On his attention being drawn to the interest which Afghanistan evinced in the future of the NWFP, Mr. Jinnah said "Don't worry. The position in the Frontier is quite all right".

Mr. Jinnah requested the Press to convey his thanks to all those who had sent him congratulations, greetings and good wishes from India and abroad. It was physically impossible for him to reply to all these messages individually. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 14, 1947.

1013

Statement on the assassination of the members of the Burmese Executive Council, New Delhi, July 20, 1947.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor General-designate of Pakistan, in a statement deeply regretting the assassination of the members of the Burmese Executive Council, stated:

"I was terribly shocked and deeply grieved to hear the news of the shooting of Burma Ministers. In these days, it is within the reach of the people to achieve anything they like for their country by peaceful methods.

"No power can resist the unmistakable will of an organized people and I am sure that gangsterism cannot have any support or sympathy of the people of Burma.

"I mourn for those who have died and deeply and sincerely sympathize for their families and with those who have been faced with the tragedy and as one of the free and independent nations, the people of Burma will make their disapproval of their methods which are opposed to the interests of any civilized and great nation in the management of their own internal affairs. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 21, 1947.

1014

Statement assuring full support to Indonesia, New Delhi, July 26, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, the Governor General-designate of Pakistan Dominion in a statement to the press, after meeting Dr. Sultan Shahriar said:

"I was very glad to see Dr. Shahriar today and understand from him that the Dutch Government have committed a flagrant breach of the solemn agreement which provided that in the event of any difference of opinion or dispute, the matter must be referred to arbitration to a body consisting of one nominee of Indonesia, one of the Dutch Government and the Chief Justice of the International Court or any such person of the highest calibre possessing judicial experience and qualifications of high standard.

Ruthless Use Of Arms

"The action of the Dutch Government in declaring war against Indonesia, ignoring the arbitration clause and their resort to attack with Armed Forces, I am sure, will not be tolerated by the civilized ›tions of the world. Muslim India and Pakistan will consider this as an unfriendly act on the part of the

Government of Holland which is calculated to crush the freedom of the new democratic Muslim nation of Indonesia.

"I am sure no right-thinking man and freedom-loving nation can approve of this unjustifiable act on the part of the Government of Holland, particularly democracies of the United States and the United Kingdom.

"Our deep sympathies go to the people of Indonesia and I have assured Dr. Shahriar as their representative that we deeply sympathize with them and will support them in every way that is possible for us in their resistance against this uncalled for and sudden onslaught on the people of Indonesia by the Armed Forces of Holland."

The Dawn, July 27, 1947.

1015

Statement on the election of the leaders of the Muslim League Assembly Parties of the Punjab and Bengal,

New Delhi, July 28, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah has issued the following statement:

"There is a great deal of misapprehension that I am directly or indirectly trying to force leaders on the Muslim League Assembly Parties of the Punjab and Bengal respectively, and some interested parties are using my name as what my wishes are, regarding who should be the Leader.

"I, therefore, wish to make it quite clear that I have expressed no preference or desire to support any one as the leader of the Muslim League Parties, either in the Punjab or in Bengal. It is entirely the responsibility of the Assembly Parties and they should freely and fairly choose their leaders, whom they consider best.

"I understand that the dates for the Party meetings have already been fixed and I hope that they will elect the right men who will guide them and serve them selflessly and whole-

heartedly. Whoever may be elected as Leader as the final result of a contest, if any, the defeated candidate and his supporters must, in the interest of Musalmans and discipline and in order to work as a team, remain loyal to the Leader that may be chosen finally by the Party, as long as he remains the Leader of the Party. They must give him the fullest co-operation and support in the discharge of his responsibilities and it is only thus that we will make the building of Pakistan as one of the greatest States in the world, successfully." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 29, 1947.

1016

Statement regarding Muslim League Policy about the States, New Delhi, July 30, 1947.

In a statement Mr. M.A.Jinnah reiterates that the Muslim League has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of action.

"I have been asked from certain quarters to indicate what the attitude of the new Pakistan Government is likely to be, in respect of the Indian States, on the lapse of paramountcy," says Mr. Jinnah.

"I thought, I had already made the position perfectly clear. The legal position is that with the lapse of paramountcy on the transfer of power by the British, all Indian States would automatically regain their full sovereign and independent status. They are, therefore, free to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent.

"The Muslim League recognizes the right of each State to choose its destiny. It has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of actin.

"Should a State desire to join the Pakistan Dominion or enter into any understanding or a treaty, the negotiating Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly when set up, or the representatives of the Government of Pakistan, as the case may be, will be glad to negotiate the terms on which such association can be brought about. While it is desirable to conclude such negotiations quickly, no definite time-limit can obviously be placed on their completion, as this will, in my opinion, amount to interference with the States' Freedom of choice.

"Meanwhile, there is already a provision for a standstill agreement to fill up any void that may arise in the administrative field. This standstill agreement would take care of the immediate problems that may result from the lapse of paramountcy." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, July 31, 1947.

1017

Statement on the election of the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party in Sind, New Delhi, July 31, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah has issued the following statement:

"Pirzada Abdus Sattar, one of the Sind Ministers, saw me yesterday and informed me that my name is being used and it is being alleged that I have preference for someone to be the Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party in Sind. On the contrary, I have made it quite clear that it is the responsibility of the Party in the Legislature to choose its own Leader. I have made that clear already in the case of the Punjab and Bengal recently and I regret that my name should have been or should be exploited by any one. This attitude of mine will be strictly adhered to in the case of Sind also and I will advise every province where a Muslim League Party in the Legislature has

been formed to choose their Leader independently, freely and fairly.

"If there are any statements made or rumours circulated, I wish to say that there is absolutely no foundation for them. The Sind Assembly Muslim League Party is free to elect its Leader and the office-bearers of the Party whom they think best." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August, 1, 1947.

1018

Statement contradicting the news of his address to the Muslim League members of the Indian Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, August 7, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Governor General-designate, Pakistan in a statement says: "My attention has been drawn to a report appearing in certain sections of the Press purporting to give a summary of my address to the Muslim League members of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

"I wish to say that the report is a piece of concoction and I regret that a report of this kind should have been given publicity which is purely misleading and mischievous." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 8, 1947.

1019

Message to Hindustan, New Delhi, August 7, 1947.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah in a statement on the eve of his departure for Karachi, said:

"I am grateful to all our friends and those who have sent me their kind messages of greetings and good wishes on the establishment of Pakistan. I wish I could reply to every one of them individually, but having regard to the fact that I have received thousands of messages, I am unable to do so and hope that they will excuse me, as it was impossible to acknowledge every message separately owing to the enormous pressure of work that we have to meet and give effect to the big issues involved in the division of India.

"I bid farewell to the citizens of Delhi, amongst whom I have many friends of all communities and I earnestly appeal to everyone to live in this great and historic city with peace. The past must be buried and let us start afresh as two independent sovereign States of Hindustan and Pakistan. I wish Hindustan prosperity and peace."

The Dawn, August 8, 1947.

1020

Speech at a dinner party given by Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Karachi, August 9, 1947.

"Yes, I am Karachi-born, and it was on the sands of Karachi that I played marbles in my boyhood. I was schooled at Karachi", proudly declared the Quaid-i- Azam.

The Quaid-i-Azam said that he then found himself in London from where after passing law he returned to India. He was undecided what to do. But fate took him to Bombay, where he waited and waited for a long time for a brief. At last he got a brief. He went on in his own way not knowing what fate had in store for him. He now found himself in Karachi and was glad to be here.

The Quaid-i-Azam asserted that the new sovereign state of Pakistan which had been won by peaceful methods and without dropping a single drop of blood afforded him some satisfaction. In the course of his arduous work in that connection, it was the masses who came to him instinctively to help him and the intelligentsia came last.

The achievement was without parallel in history. He accepted the Governor-Generalship of the Dominion because he knew he was not the agent of an alien power but was the chosen representative of the people.

Continuing, the Quaid-i-Azam adverted to what he characterized as the sacred duty cast upon them for solving the problem of poverty of the people. He was no believer in the mission of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The task was difficult but they must make earnest efforts to promote the interests of the masses without necessarily disturbing the equilibrium in the bargain. "We must be just to both", he added.

Adverting to the minority question, the Quaid-i-Azam declared that he was no believer in formulae and paper resolutions. They were capable of being interpreted and misinterpreted.

"Let us trust each other", roared the Governor General designate and added: " let us judge by results, not by theories. With the help of every section—I see that every class is represented in this huge gathering—let us work in double shift, if necessary, to make the sovereign State of Pakistan really happy, really united and really powerful".

Concluding, the Quaid-i-Azam acknowledged with gratitude the kind words said of his sister by the host of the evening. "Miss Fatima Jinnah is a constant source of help and encouragement to me". He revealed that, "In the days when I was expecting to be taken as a prisoner by the British Government, it was my sister who encouraged me, and said hopeful things when revolution was staring me in the face. Her constant care is about my health". He was gratified by the good

words said of her by Mr. Ghulam Hussain to whom he expressed his thanks for his hospitality.

The Daily Gazette, August 10, 1947 &
The Dawn, August 10, 1947.

1021

Message of greetings to the tribesmen of Baluchistan, Karachi, August 9, 1947.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General-designate of Pakistan has assured the tribesmen of Baluchistan that the laws governing Baluchistan would continue unchanged and there would be no interference with "*Riwaj*" in a message of greetings sent to tribesmen today.

The following is the full text of the communique.

"Now that we have achieved our cherished goal and have started building the Pakistan Dominion, I desire to send my greetings to the tribesemen of Baluchistan and Dera Ghazi Khan Tribal Area.

"I wish to assure them on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, that after August 15, 1947 all agreements and allowances will continue until such time as the tribes can be consulted. Till then there will be no change whatever in the laws governing Baluchistan and no interference with "*Riwaj*" will be allowed.

"The tribes of Baluchistan have declared their firm resolve to enter the Pakistan Dominion and in that Muslim State they will receive welcome and help to prosperity and progress" (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 11, 1947.

1022

Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Karachi, August 11, 1947

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me—the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer—by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete Sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

"Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this—remember

that you are now a Sovereign Legislature body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on your the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

Bribery And Corruption

"The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering—I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse—is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

"Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black marketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of food-stuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

"The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil—the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I

want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Wherever I will find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

"I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of everyone of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether, it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgement there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct; may be it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed,

is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

"I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community—because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans. Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmans, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalees, Madrasis, and so on—will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this.

Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God; we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by

the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

"Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

"Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair-play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words, partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

"I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

'I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received form the Secretary of State of the United States:

'On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake."

The Eastern Times, August 12, 1994.

1023

Message to the Dawn, Karachi, August 12, 1947.

I am glad that the management of "*Dawn*" have decided to issue daily "*Dawn*" from Karachi simultaneously with Delhi and I congratulate the management for having decided to make this arrangement. The first issue, I am informed will appear from Karachi, the capital of Pakistan on the 15th of August, the appointed day.

It is well known that "*Dawn*" since the day of its inception in Delhi has rendered great services to our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. It stood alone and fought singly against all odds and has shown what a powerful paper could do for the righteous cause that we fought for.

Now that we have achieved Pakistan and our complete freedom and independence in our homelands, may God Almighty grant us and all those who have undertaken to serve it, strength to construct and build Pakistan and make it a great country and realize our ideal that we shall make it one of the greatest nations of the world. *Primus inter pares* (first among equals).

The Dawn, August 15, 1947.

1024

Speech at the Banquet held in honour of Lord Mountbatten, Karachi, August 13, 1947.

This is one of the most momentous and unique occasions. Today, we are on the eve of complete transfer of power to the peoples of India, and there will emerge and establish two Independent Sovereign Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan on the appointed day, the 15th of August, 1947. This decision of His Majesty's Government will mark the fulfillment

of the great ideal which was set forth by the formation of Commonwealth with the avowed object to make all nations and countries which formed part of the British Empire, self-governing and independent states, free form the domination of any other nation. Since the assumption of the reign of the Government of India by Queen Victoria, a great and good Queen, by the Proclamation and the very Act that was enacted for the assumption of power and authority of the British Crown and Parliament, it was made clear that it will be the deep concern and definite objective of the British nation to lead India ultimately to the goal of its becoming self-governing and independent State.

In the pursuit of that policy since the days of Macaulay there never was any question about the principle, but there remained always the question of how and when. In that process during the reign of four generations of the British Crown there were controversies and differences of opinion as to the pace for realization of freedom and independence.

There have been many acts of commission and omission, but at the same time we cannot help recognizing that the British genius and those Britishers who ruled India for over a century did so to the best of their judgement and have left their marks in many spheres of life and especially the judicial system, which has been the greatest bulwark and safeguard for the rights and liberties of the people.

Today, it falls to the lot of King George the Sixth the good fortune of fulfilling the promise and the noble mission with which his great-grand mother assumed the reign of this sub-continent nearly a century ago.

The reign of King George the Sixth will go down in history by the performance of this act voluntarily of transferring power and handing over the Government of India which was rightly characterized as the brightest jewel in the British Empire, and by establishing two Sovereign Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan. Such voluntary and absolute transfer

of power and rule by one nation over others is unknown in the whole history of the world. It is the translation and the realization of the great ideal of Commonwealth which now has been effected and hence both Pakistan and Hindustan have remained members of Commonwealth, which shows how truly we appreciate the high and noble ideal by which the Commonwealth has been and will be guided in the future.

Tribute To Viceroy

Quaid-e-Azam paid a glowing tribute to Viceroy and said "Your Excellency Lord Mountbatten, how much we appreciate your having carried out whole-heartedly the policy and the principle that was laid down by the plan of 3rd June and the Indian Independence Act which was passed by the British Parliament and received the assent of His Majesty the King on the 10th of July with grace, dignity and great ability.

You are the last Viceroy of India, but Pakistan and Hindustan will always remember you, and your name will remain cherished not only in the history of these two Dominions but will find a place in the history of the world, as one who performed his task and duties magnificently.

Before I conclude, let me mark our sense of deep appreciation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament, and above all, the British nation who enthusiastically and whole-heartedly helped and supported the policy enunciated by His Majesty's Government that the peoples of India should be free, and that the only solution of India's constitutional problem was to divide it into Pakistan and Hindustan.

This task has now been accomplished. There lies in front of us a new chapter and it will be our endeavour to create and maintain goodwill and friendship with Britain and our neighbouring Dominion—Hindustan—along with other sister nations so that we all together may make our greatest contribution for the peace and prosperity of the world.

Quaid-e-Azam then proposed the health of His Majesty, King George the Sixth. (A.P.I.)

The Daily Gazettee, August 14, 1947
& The Dawn, August 14, 1947.

1025

Speech on the inauguration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Karachi, August 14, 1947.

Your Excellency. I thank His Majesty the King on behalf of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and myself for his gracious message. I know great responsibilities lie ahead, and I naturally reciprocate his sentiments and we are grateful for his assurance of sympathy and support, and I hope that you will communicate to His Majesty our assurance of goodwill and friendship for the British nation and himself as the Crown Head of the British.

I thank you for your expressions of goodwill and good wishes for the future of Pakistan. It will be our constant endeavour to work for the welfare and well-being of all the communities in Pakistan, and I hope that everyone would be inspired by the idea of public service, and they will be imbued with the spirit of co-operation and will excel in their political and civic virtues which go to make a great nation and help to advance its greatness.

I once more thank you and Lady Mountbatten for your kindness and good wishes. Yes, we are parting as friends and sincerely hope that we shall remain friends.

I wish to emphasize that we appreciate the spirit in which those in the Government service at present and in the Armed Forces and others have so willingly and ungrudgingly volunteered themselves provisionally to serve Pakistan. As servants of Pakistan we shall make them happy and they will be

treated equally with our nationals. The tolerance and goodwill that great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet (Peace be upon him) not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised.

Finally, I thank you for your good wishes for Pakistan, and I assure you that we shall not be wanting in friendly spirit with our neighbours and with all nations of the world.

The Star of India, August 15, 1947.

1026

Message on the eve of inauguration of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service, Karachi, August 15, 1947.

"It is with feelings of greatest happiness and emotion that I send you my greetings. August 15 is the birthday of the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan. It marks the fulfilment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices in the past few years to have its homeland.

"At this supreme moment my thoughts are with those valiant fighters in our cause. Pakistan will remain grateful to them and cherish the memory of those who are no more.

"The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace and amity and work for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed.

"Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relationships with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against any one. We stand by the United Nations' Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

Muslims are a United Nation

"Muslims of India have shown to the world that they are a united nation, their cause is just and righteous which cannot be denied. Let us, on this day, humbly thank God for his bounty and pray that we might be able to prove that we are worthy of it.

"This day marks the end of a poignant phase in our national history and it should also be the beginning of a new and a noble era. Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfil their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear.

"To the freedom loving tribes on our borders and the States beyond our borders, we send our greetings and assure that Pakistan will respect their status and will extend to them its most friendly co-operation in preserving peace. We have no ambition beyond the desire to live honourably and let others live honourably.

Build Up Pakistan

"Today is Jummat-ul-Wida, last Friday of the holy month of Ramazan, a day of rejoicing for all of us wherever we may be in this vast subcontinent and for the matter of that throughout the world. Let the Muslim congregations in their thousands, in all the mosques, bow in all humility before the Almighty and thank him for his eternal kindness and generosity, seeking his guidance and assistance in the task of making Pakistan into a great State and themselves into its worthy citizens.

"Finally, let me tell you, fellow citizens, Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a

country worthy of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly. *Pakistan Zindabad.*"

The Pakistan Times, August, 1947.

1027

Eid Message to the Nation, Karachi, August 18, 1947.

"This is our first Eid immediately following in the heralding of free independent Sovereign Pakistan having been established. This day of rejoicing throughout the Muslim world so aptly comes immediately in the wake of our National State being established, and therefore, it is a matter of special significance and happiness to us all. I wish on this auspicious day a very happy Eid to all Muslims wherever they may be throughout the world—an Eid that will usher in, I hope, a new era of prosperity and will mark the onward march of renaissance of Islamic culture and ideals. I fervently pray that God Almighty make us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength to make Pakistan truly a great nation amongst all the nations of the world. No doubt we have achieved Pakistan, but that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us, and equally great should be our determination and endeavour to discharge them, and the fulfilment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation that what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan. The time for real solid work has now arrived, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Muslim genius will put its shoulder to the wheel and conquer all obstacles in our way on the road which may appear uphill.

"Let us not, on the occasion, forget those of our brethren and sisters who have sacrificed their all, so that Pakistan may be established and we may live. We fervently pray that their souls

may rest in peace and we shall never forget the memory of those who are no more and those who have suffered. For many, Eid will be not an occasion of such great joy and rejoicing as in Pakistan. Those of our brethren who are minorities in Hindustan may rest assured that we shall never neglect or forget them. Our hearts go out to them, and we shall consider no effort too great to help them and secure their well-being, for I recognise that it is the Muslim minority provinces in this sub continent who were the pioneers and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I shall never forget their support, nor I hope the majority Muslim Provinces in Pakistan will fail to appreciate that they were the pioneers in the vanguard of our historic and heroic struggle for the achievement of Pakistan which today is an accomplished fact. *Pakistan Zindabad.*"

The Dawn, August 19, 1947.

1028

Statement on the situation in East Punjab, Karachi, August 24, 1947.

"I have been watching with increasing grief and concern the orgies of violence in the Eastern Punjab, which have taken such a heavy toll of Muslim lives and inflicted indescribable tragedies on hundreds of thousands of Muslims. I know that no words can bring solace to our suffering brethren across the frontier of Pakistan in this hour of their terrible trials. Nor I am ignorant of the grave unrest that those outrages have quite naturally created amongst the Muslims of Pakistan putting their patience to the severest trial.

"It is because I realise this and my heart is also deeply grieved that I consider it my duty to call upon the Muslims to temper their sentiments with reason and to be aware of the dangers which may well overwhelm their newly-won State,

should they allow their feelings of the moment to gain mastery over their actions.

"Let me make it quite plain that we are not mere idle spectators of what is happening in Eastern Punjab, but both the Central Pakistan Government and the Western Punjab Government have made it their first concern to give succour and relief to the victims of disturbances, and to organise measures for the evacuation of those who are still threatened or who wish to leave the disturbed areas and seek safety and shelter in Pakistan.

"We have determined to give all of them every help and facility for evacuation and to arrange for their maintenance and rehabilitation, for which purpose the resources of the State would be utilised to the fullest possible extent.

"We are also in constant touch with the Government of the Indian Dominion, and the West Punjab Ministry is acting in conjunction with the Eastern Punjab Ministry with a view to ending the bloodshed and lawlessness as speedily as possible.

Keep Absolutely Free From Disorder

"Pakistan should be kept absolutely free form disorder, because the outbreak of lawlessness at this initial stage is bound to shake its newly-laid foundations and cause irreparable damage to its future.

"Let me warn Muslims to be aware of their enemies who do not wish well to Pakistan and would not like it to grow strong and powerful. In fact they would like to see it destroyed at its very inception and will welcome nothing better than that widespread disorders should break out within its borders, thereby causing administrative dislocation and impeding the work of national regeneration and reconstruction. Let not our people play into their hands by indulging in the urge for retaliation, because such a course will not really help the sufferers in Eastern Punjab and elsewhere, to solve any problem

but cause further loss of innocent lives and more suffering for large masses of humanity.

"I may here say that those who unwisely think that they can undo Pakistan are sadly mistaken. Nothing on earth now will succeed in touching Pakistan, whose roots are now truly and deeply laid. Any such dream or feeling on their part which leads them to indulge in killing will only end in increasing toll of innocent lives, and, they are only tarnishing the fair name of the communities to which they belong. The civilised world will look upon their inhuman conduct with horror.

"I, therefore, call upon every Muslim, man and woman, in Pakistan to fortify themselves against their present sorrows for the establishment of their national State for which they have already suffered and sacrificed so much, and which it is now for them to build up, so that before long it can justify its position as the largest Islamic State in the world and win a proud place in the family of nations. It is thus that the death and destruction inflicted on our people elsewhere will be best avenged, and not by the acting on first impulse and getting lost in the confineless wilderness of physical revenge and retaliation.

"I pray to God that He who has bestowed on us this great boon of a sovereign State may now give our people courage to bear their grief, fortify their patience and enable them, in spite of all provocation, to preserve intact the peace of Pakistan for the sake of Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, August 25, 1947.

1029

Reply to the Civic Address presented by the Karachi Municipal Corporation, Karachi, August 25, 1947.

"It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types, but secure liberty, fraternity and equality as

enjoined upon us by Islam," said Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor General of Pakistan in his reply to the civic address of welcome presented to him by the Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of the city of Karachi.

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah stated: "Karachi has the distinction of being the only town of importance where, during these times of communal disturbances, people have kept their heads cool and lived amicably, and I hope we shall continue to do so.

Great Metropolis

"I thank you Mayor and the Councillors of the Corporation of the City of Karachi for your cordial address of welcome and all the kind thoughts and personal references you have been good enough to make with regard to myself and my sister. I appreciate the noble sentiments and ideals which you have referred to and I assure you that it is my desire and hope that they will be cherished and lived upto. I am very glad that I have had this opportunity of meeting you all and the citizens of Karachi. Undoubtedly, I have great love and regard for this beautiful town not only because of my old associations with it, or because it is my birthplace, as you have said, but because it has now become the birthplace of the free, sovereign and independent State of Pakistan. For all freedom-loving people, Karachi will on that account not only be a symbol of special significance but will occupy a place in history for which there is no parallel, and I feel it my good fortune that I have the honour to be the first to receive this civic address.

He continued "Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why starting from humble beginnings it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world. Not only its airports, but the naval port and also the main town will be amongst the finest. There is one specially pleasing feature about Karachi—

while most of the big cities are crowded and cramped with over-towering structures, Karachi has large open spaces and hill-station style roofs which give to the visitor a feeling of space and ease. It has also got the advantage of a salubrious climate and is always blessed with healthy and cool breezes throughout the year.

I visualize a great future for Karachi—it always had immense potentialities. Now with the establishment of Pakistan's Capital here and the arrival of Pakistan government and its personnel and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense opportunities have opened out for it. So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce, and a seat of learning and culture.

Increasing Responsibilities

Quaid-e-Azam added "As you have said, the responsibilities of Karachi and its Corporation have increased along with its importance, I hope that the Corporation will prove equal to the task. There would be an extra strain on all phases of Corporation activities, but under the wise and able guidance of the City Fathers, and with the co-operation of all the citizens, this would be, I trust, borne with alacrity and willingness. The help of the Government, I feel, will be available in your difficulties and problems and I am sure that the authorities concerned will in time deal appropriately with the question of the power and status of the Corporation and its Mayor, questions, which appear to worry you just now a great deal.

"Karachi has the distinction of being the only town of importance where, during these times of communal disturbances, people have kept their heads cool and lived amicably, and I hope we shall continue to do so.

"Pakistan is grateful to the Sind Government and the Corporation and people of Karachi for welcoming its Central Government to have its headquarters here and for providing all facilities. With the arrival of Pakistan staff, Karachi already has

as its citizens, people from all parts of Pakistan and Hindustan. They will all live here together like true citizens and devote their energies to and avail themselves of the great opportunities that present themselves to us all to build up and reconstruct Pakistan in a manner which will command the respect of sister nations and find a place of honour along with great nations of the world as an equal.

"It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types, but also to secure liberty, fraternity and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam.

"I thank you again, Mayor and Councillors for your address of welcome.

The Pakistan Times, August 27, 1947.

1030

Appeal to the Nation for contribution to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund for refugees, Karachi, September 12, 1947.

"The sufferings that have been inflicted on our people in the East Punjab, Delhi and various other parts of the Dominion of India have few parallels in their extent. They have confronted Pakistan on the morrow of its birth with problems of gigantic dimensions. Since we assumed office, my Government and myself have been spending the best part of our time and energy in dealing with this grave crisis which continues to assume greater proportions as one disaster follows another.

"We have now to think in terms of affording relief to those millions of our brethren who have been stricken by this calamity. The nation is aware that an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet has been constituted for the purpose which is meeting daily and a separate Ministry for Refugees, Evacuees and Rehabilitation has been set up. We are determined to

mobilize the resources of the State to the fullest extent to cope with this colossal task and to overcome all difficulties.

"But in a national crisis of such magnitude, the resources of the State must necessarily be supplemented by those of the people themselves and private charity and their support and co-operation can accomplish much which Government organizations and aid alone cannot.

"I have given the most anxious and careful thought as to how this can be done and have decided to institute forthwith a Fund—Fund to be known as the 'Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.' The Fund will be administered by a Central Committee consisting of six members—myself, the Finance Minister, the Minister for Refugees, Evacuees and Rehabilitation, the Governor of Sind, the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and the Auditor-General of Pakistan who will be the Treasurer. Under the Central (Committee) Committees, with the Governor (in the case of Baluchistan, the Chief Commissioner) as Chairman will be set up which will in turn organize District Committees.

Sacrifice Comfort

"I appeal to the nation to come forward with generous contributions to this fund and to stint no sacrifice or effort for this purpose. There are millions who are living in safety and security and enjoying the comforts of life, while countless numbers of their fellow human beings have suffered and are suffering grievously. Now is the time for the former to make the greatest possible voluntary sacrifices of comfort and of the material things they possess.

"Let every man and woman resolve from this day to live henceforth strictly on an austerity basis in respect of food, clothing and other amenities of life and let the money, foodstuffs and clothing thus saved be brought to this common pool for the relief of the stricken. The winter is approaching and in the

Punjab and Delhi particularly, it is very severe and we must provide refugees protection against it." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, September 14, 1947.

1031

Statement regarding Condition of the Muslims of Delhi, Karachi, September 15, 1947.

"I have been in continuous and close touch with the happenings in Delhi.

"Yesterday, some prominent Musalmans of Delhi saw me and narrated harrowing accounts of the plight which has befallen Muslims in that city. Their life and property is not safe; and their condition is most miserable.

"I deeply sympathize with the sufferings they have endured and still are enduring owing to the destruction of the life and property of Muslims there.

"I explained to these representatives of the Delhi Muslims that we are straining every nerve to do all that we can for them and are in constant communication with the India Dominion Government on this subject. I discussed it at great length with Lord Ismey, who came to Karachi recently.

"I do hope that immediate measures will be taken by the Delhi authorities to do everything possible to ensure the safety and welfare of the Muslims in Delhi, many thousands of whom are now practically living as worse than prisoners in various camps in Delhi, such as the Purana Qila, the Idgah and other places, for they are without shelter, food or clothes and in fear of their lives.

"I do hope that the Government at Delhi will put down those who are still defying law and order and disturbing the

peace of Delhi, the capital of the India Dominion Government, with an iron hand.

"The lawlessness, which is going on under the very eyes of that Government, must be stopped by every means in their power.

"Those who are defying the authority of that Government are the enemies of the state and are bereft of every elementary sense of humanity. They should be treated as such and dealt with accordingly."

The Civil & Military Gazette, September 17, 1947.

1032

Statement in reply to a message from Nawabzada Khalifa Khan Malik on behalf of Afridis of the Khyber Agency, Karachi, September 17, 1947.

"My advice to Musalmans in Pakistan and outside is that it will be most unwise on their part wherever they are in the majority to resort to retaliation or adopt any action in spirit of revenge.

"Apart from such action being contrary to Islamic teachings, it is also not in our interest to do so, and such action will serve no useful purpose as a relief to those Musalmans who happen to be minorities in Hindustan or elsewhere in this sub-continent.

"I have received many other telegrams from Frontier tribes and other parts of Hindustan and my advice to them is exactly the same as I have given in this telegram.

"I assure the Musalmans that the Pakistan Government is fully alive to the grave situation and is doing its very best to

protect Musalmans everywhere in every possible way. I, therefore, request Musalmans not to precipitate matters by hasty and premature action on the part of individuals or groups in any part of the sub-continent."

The Pakistan Times, September 18, 1947.

1033

Speech on the occasion of laying the Foundation-Stone of the Valika Textile Mills Ltd, Karachi, September 27, 1947.

"It has given me great pleasure to come here today to lay the foundation-stone of the Valika Textile Mills. Pakistan is at present mostly an agricultural state and for manufactured goods it is dependent upon the outside world.

"If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, we will give more employment to our people and will also increase the resources of the State.

"Nature has blessed us with a good many raw materials of industry and it is up to us to utilize them to the best of the State and its people. I hope this venture of yours will prove the precursor of many such enterprises and bring prosperity to all concerned.

"I also hope that in planning your factory, you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for the workers, for no industry can thrive without contented labour."

The Quaid-e-Azam went on and said that he had at heart this satisfaction that he had been called upon to lay the foundation-stone of the Textile Mills which was the first of its kind. He said that he was told by a very well-known gentleman in Sind, who has got a very long experience, that if Sind were given full opportunity, it could be three times more prosperous in agriculture and industry than Egypt. So far as agricultural potentialities were concerned, there was no shortage. That was Sind's biggest fortune. Sind had been surplus in the production of food.

The Quaid-e-Azam, therefore, urged Sindhis that they had to develop other fields like science, commerce and industry. He said that they should realize that the real strength and power of the State depended upon its capacity to produce.

For commerce and trade, money was needed and Sind being prosperous in agriculture, its power was great and we could feed the various channels like educational, social and political. The way in which we could consolidate the State was by industrializing as fast as we could.

He then blessed the sponsors of the Mills and said that it would not only be the first and the last mill but many more would follow. (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, September 28, 1947.

1034

Address to Civil, Naval, Military and Air Force officers of the Pakistan Government, Karachi, October 11, 1947.

"The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we

should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find freeplay.

"I had no illusion about the hard work that awaited us and the difficulties that had to be overcome. I was, however, fortified by the knowledge that I could count upon the unstinted support of all Muslims and also the minorities whose co-operation we could win over by fair—nay, generous—treatment.

"Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenceless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life are today pauprs with no means of livelihood. A good many of them have already found asylum in Pakistan but many more are still stuck up in East Punjab awaiting evacuation. That they are still on the other side of the border is not due to the fact that we have been unmindul of their sad plight. The evacuation of these unfortunate persons has been our first concern and everything that is humanly possible is being done to alleviate their suffering. As you are aware, the Prime Minister has shifted his headquarters to Lahore and we have set up an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet to deal with the situation as it develops from day to day.

"The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the difficulties inherent in the building of a new State, I referred to earlier, manifold. Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our new-born State founder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies?

"This is a challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy. Our masses are today disorganized and disheartened by the cataclysm that has befallen them.

"Their morale is exceedingly low and we shall have to do something to put them out of the slough of despondency and galvanize them into activity. All this throws additional responsibility on Government servants to whom our people are looking for guidance.

"I know that during the past few weeks, anxiety about the safety of your kith and kin in East Punjab, Delhi and other disturbed areas of India has been weighing on the minds of most of you. Lots of you and your staff have suffered bereavements in the recent holocaust and have lost valuable property. My heart goes out in sympathy to those who have suffered bereavements and I pray to Almighty God that He may give them fortitude to bear their losses with courage.

"But are all these sacrifices, that we have been called upon to make, to be in vain? Are we going to sit down and mope over our losses? If we do so, we shall behaving just as our enemies want us to behave. We shall be playing their game and will soon be suppliants for their mercy. The fitting response to the machinations of our enemies would be a grim determiantion to get down to the task of building our State on strong and firm foundations, a State which should be fit for our children to live in. This requires work, work and more work. I fully realize that a majority of you have worked under a terrible strain during the war years and might need relaxation. But you should remember that for us the war has not ended. It has only just begun and if we are to fight it to victory, we shall have to put in super-human efforts. This is not the time to think in terms of personal

advancement and jockeying for positions. It is the time for constructive efforts, selfless work and steadfast devotion to duty.

"This being the need of the day, I was pained to learn that a good many of our staff are not pulling their weight. They seem to be thinking that now that Pakistan has been achieved they can sit back and do nothing. Some of them have been demoralized by the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi, and in others, the general lawlessness prevailing in some parts of the country, has bred a spirit of indiscipline. These tendencies, if not checked immediately, will prove more deadly than our external enemies and will spell ruin for us. It is the duty of all of you who have gathered here today to see that this cancer is removed as speedily as possible. You have to infuse a new spirit in your men by precept and by example. You have to make them feel that they are working for a cause and that the cause is worth every sacrifice that they may be called upon to make.

"God has given us a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State; let it not be said that we did not prove equal to the task.

"Another question that has been agitating my mind is the treatment of minorities. I have repeatedly made it clear in my utterances, both private and public, that we would treat the minorities fairly and that nothing is farther from our thoughts than to drive them away. I, however, regret to say that the minorities here did not give us a chance to prove our bonafides and give us their whole-hearted co-operation as citizens of Pakistan when the crisises suddenly overtook us. Before we could assume the reins of office, non-Muslims started pulling out of Pakistan, which, as subsequent events have proved, was part of a well-organized plan to cripple Pakistan. But for a few sporadic incidents here and there, nothing has happened to mar the peace of Sind, but despite the prevalence of peaceful conditions here the exodus of Hindus continues. Some have given way to panic and others have been leaving Pakistan in the

hope that it will be paralysed economically and socially. A lot of migrants are already realizing the folly of their rash act in leaving the country of their birth or domicile but some interested parties persist in encouraging migration which is fraught with grievous consequences for the migrants and also does harm to our State in the process.

"It is true that there was some trouble in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but it was not the outcome of any premeditated plan. Some excitable elements in society were carried away by tales of woe brought by refugees from East Punjab; and sought solace in revenge which was definitely against our policy and contrary to our expressed instructions to our people that there should be no retaliation. Whatever has happened cannot be justified.

"I am, however, glad to say that this trouble was short-lived and the situation was soon brought under control.

"In West Punjab, things were rather different. It was nearer the scene of carnage and so could not escape the contagion. Regrettable incidents have, no doubt, taken place there but the arm of the law is again asserting itself and things are returning to normal.

"When I turn my eyes to the sister Dominion of India, I find that the Muslim minority there has suffered grievous wrongs. Not content with having uprooted Muslims from East Punjab, certain sections in India seem to be determined to drive Muslims from the entire Dominion by making life impossible for them. These helpless victims of organized forces feel that they have been let down by us. It is a thousand pities that things have come to such a pass.

"The division of India was agreed upon with a solemn and sacred undertaking that minorities would be protected by the two Dominion Governments and that the minorities had nothing to fear so long as they remained loyal to the State. If

that is still the policy of the Government of India—and I am sure it is—they should put a stop to the process of victimization of Muslims which, if persisted in, would mean ruin for both the States.

"My advice to my Muslim brethern in India is to give unflinching loyalty to the State in which they happen to be. At the same time, they should reorganize themselves and create the right leadership which should give them the correct lead in these perilous times. I further hope that the Government of India would see that their fair name is not sullied by ill-advised action on the part of those who are bent upon the eviction or extermination of Muslims of India by brutal and inhuman methods. If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at the Governmental plane; it should not be left to be sorted out by blood-thirsty elements.

"As regards the Government of Pakistan, I again reiterate with all the emphasis at my command that we shall pursue our settled policy in this respect and we shall continue to protect the life and property of minorities in Pakistan and shall give them a fair deal. We do not want them to be forced to leave Pakistan and that so long as they remain faithful and loyal to the State they shall be entitled to the same treatment as any other citizen.

"It is the duty of Government servants, who are responsible for enforcing the policy of Government, to see that this policy is scrupulously carried out so that we may not throw ourselves open to the charge that we do not mean what we say. It is you who can convince the man in the street of the sincerity of our intentions and I am confident that you would not fail us." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, October 12-14, 1947.

1035

Message to the Nation on occasion of Eid-ul-Azha, Karachi, October 24, 1947.

"God often tests and tries those whom He loves. He called upon Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice the object he loved most. Prophet Ibrahim answered the call and offered to sacrifice his son. Today too, God is testing and trying the Muslims of Pakistan and India. He has demanded great sacrifices from us. Our new-born State is bleeding from wounds inflicted by our enemies. Our Muslim brethren in India are being victimized and oppressed as Muslims for their help and sympathy for the establishment of Pakistan. Dark clouds surround us on all sides for the moment but we are not daunted, for I am sure, if we show the same spirit of sacrifice as was shown by Ibrahim, God would rend the clouds and shower on us His blessings as He did on Ibrahim. Let us, therefore, on the day of *Eid-ul-Azha* which symbolizes the spirit of sacrifice enjoined by Islam, resolve that we shall not be deterred from our objective of creating a State of our own concept by any amount of sacrifice, trials or tribulations which may lie ahead of us and that we shall bend all our energies and resources to achieve our goal. I am confident that in spite of its magnitude, we shall overcome this grave crisis as we have in our long history surmounted many others and notwithstanding the efforts of our enemies, we shall emerge triumphant and strong from the dark night of suffering and show to the world that the State exists not for life but for good life.

"On this sacred day, I send greetings to our Muslims brethren all over the world both on behalf of myself and the people of Pakistan. For us in Pakistan, this day of thanksgiving and rejoicing has been overshadowed by the suffering and sorrow of 5 million Muslims in East Punjab and its neighbourhood. I hope that, wherever Muslim men and women foregather on this solemn day, they will remember in their

prayers these unfortunate men, women and children who have lost their dear ones, hearths and homes and are undergoing an agony and suffering as great and cruel as any yet inflicted on humanity. In the name of this mass of suffering humanity I renew my appeal to Muslims wherever they may be, to extend to us in this hour of our danger and need, their hand of brotherly sympathy, support and co-operation. Nothing on earth now can undo Pakistan.

"The greater the sacrifices we are made to undergo the purer and more chastened shall we emerge like gold from fire.

"So my message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilize all our resources in a systematic and organized way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation." *Pakistan Zindabad* (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, October 25, 1947.

1036

Interview to Duncan Hooper, Correspondent of Reuter, Karachi, October 25, 1947.

The following is the full text of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's interview with Reuter's correspondent, Mr. Duncan Hooper, which he gave on October 25, 1947:

Q. How do you view the latest developments regarding Palestine? What would be the attitude of Pakistan if the partition plan resulted in a conflict between the Arabs and Jews?

A. The leader of our delegation to the UNO, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, has clearly defined our position regarding the latest developments in Palestine and I do still hope that the partition plan will be

rejected, otherwise there is bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict, not only between the Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the partition plan, but the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically or morally. In such a case, Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs and will do whatever lies in its power to prevent what, in my opinion, is an outrage.

Response to Pakistan's Appeal

Q. What response has been received from the other Dominions to Pakistan's appeal for help in solving the communal problem?

A. So far, nothing definite, but I believe that this matter is under the earnest consideration of the Prime Minister of England and of the other Dominions.

Q. What, in your view, is the best basis for firm and friendly relations between the Dominions of India and Pakistan?

A. First and the foremost, both Dominions must make all-out efforts to restore peace and maintain law and order in their respective States—that is fundamental. I have repeatedly said that; now that the division of India has been brought about by solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that, despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours and we can help each in diverse ways, morally, materially and politically and thereby raise the prestige and status of both Dominions. But before we can make any progress, it is absolutely

essential that peace must be restored and law and order maintained in both the Dominions.

The minorities in both the Dominions must be made to feel that their life, property and honour are absolutely safe and secure and they will get without question, a fair deal from their respective Governments. It is very unfortunate that vigorous propaganda has been going on from the moment that the division was agreed upon and the two States were created that Pakistan is only a truncated Pakistan, that it is merely a temporary madness on the part of the Muslim League that has brought about this 'secession', that Pakistan will have to come into the Union as a penitent, repentant, erring son and that the 'two-nation theory' is responsible for all that has taken place.

It is also very unfortunate that the Muslims in Hindustan are told threateningly that they must abjure the leadership of the League and declare their 'folly' in having supported Pakistan and in believing in this 'fantastic two-nation theory.' Also that certain tests and standards of loyalty are demanded from them and unless they satisfy those tests, it is said they have no place in Hindustan.

No Union Between two States

I want to make it quite clear that Pakistan will never surrender and never agree in any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign States with one common centre.

Pakistan has come to stay and will stay. But we are always ready to come to an understanding or enter into agreements with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign States, just as we may have our alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign

nation. But all this propaganda and agitation, all the threats that are held out even by prominent Congress speakers, against our fully independent sovereign State are not likely to restore goodwill and friendly relations between the two States.

We must try to stop any effort or attempt which is intended to bring about a forced union of the two Dominions. The methods advocated for the achievement of this end are:

(1) Bring about a revolt by Muslims against the Muslim League and the Pakistan Government.

(2) Failing that making the leaders of Pakistan realize the folly of the two-nation theory and change their ways and force them once again to agree to join the Union and thereby create a single India by war.

India is a Hindu State

If firm and friendly relations are to be established between the two Dominions, this sort of propaganda must stop. As for the two-nation theory, it is not a theory but a fact. The division of India is based on that fact and what is more, that fact has been proved beyond doubt by the ugly and deplorable events of the past two months, and by the action of the Dominin of India in pulling out Hindus from Pakistan as their nationals. How then can it be said that there is one nation? I do not wish to dwell upon this further. There are many other events that are taking place which go to show the reality which is that the Dominion of India is a Hindu State.

Even a great Professor Dr. Gadgil, in his statement of October 9, says that a 'Hindu State or more fully a federation of Hindu national States' is the only proper description of the new Indian Union. And he says that to

describe the Indian Union as a Hindu State is to bring out its dominant and most significant characteristic and he further proceeds to say that this does not mean that the territories of the Indian Union have no place for those who do not belong to the Hindu tradition and that others will be discriminated against.

Minorities do not cease to be citizens

Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and do all it can to creat a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan.

Every citizen is expected to be loyal to the State and to owe true allegiance to it. The arm of law should be strong enough to deal with any person or section or body of people that is disloyal to the State. We do not, however, prescribe any school boy tests of their loyalty. We shall not say to any Hindu citizen of Pakistan 'if there was war, would you shoot a Hindu."

To the Muslim minority and their leaders left in India, I have already conferred advice that they must reorganize themselves under their own chosen leadership as they have a very big part to play in safeguarding the rights and interests of many million. They have already professed under my advice their loyalty to the Government of India and made their position clear on the very first day when they attended the Indian Dominion Constituent Assembly.

In spite of this, insidious propaganda is going on that they have been let down by the Muslim League and Pakistan is indifferent to what may happen to them. The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honour. Nobody visualized that a powerful section in India was bent upon the ruthless extermination of Muslims and had prepared a well-organized plan to achieve that end. This gangsterism, I hope, will be put down ruthlessly by the India Government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilized Government.

I, therefore, while deeply and fully sympathizing with their sufferings, urge upon Muslims in India to bear their trial with courage and fortitude and not get panicky and play into the hands of our enemies by hasty decisions or actions. They should not in their adversity be led away by mischievous propaganda of interested parties and hold the Muslim League and its leadership responsible for all their tribulations. They must hold on to their posts, and Pakistan, I can assure them, will not be a mere spectator of their sufferings. We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger that they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the co-operation of the Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them.

Strike at the roots of Conspiracy

Q. Do you consider that Pakistan and India have now passed through the worst of the communal troubles following the transfer of power?

A. You can hardly call this communal trouble, although I know it has been very loosely described as that. It is now clear beyond doubt that it was well-planned, well-organised and well-directed and the object of it all, it seems to me, was to paralyse the new-born Dominion of Pakistan, which obviously was starting from scratch. There is only one remedy now left—that is for the Indian Dominion to deal ruthlessly with this diabolical conspiracy and extirpate, I say extirpate, the roots of the plot and the powerful men who are behind the organization. It is no use dealing with symptoms. You must strike at the root.

Functions of Muslims

Q. What do you consider are now the proper functions of the Muslim League outside Pakistan?

A. The Muslim League has already achieved its mission—its fundamental object—which was to establish the independent State of Pakistan.

The remaining aims and objects of the Muslim League are very general. I quote 'to protect and advance the political, religious and other communities of India, and to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other communities.

I wanted to call a meeting of the Working Committee and of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at an early date because it is obvious that we have to reorient the Muslim League organization in the light of the fundamental changes that have taken place. But, unfortunately, owing to the grave situation that was created, we were so fully absorbed that we had no time to attend to this or many other matters which are facing us and which still require our urgent consideration.

Fair Deal for Indian Muslims

The main objective of Muslims in India is to play their part in ensuring that they get a fair deal. But, with the establishment of the two Dominions, this is also a matter which can be handled effectively on a Governmental level.

The Plan of June 3 was accepted by the two major nations as successor authorities and now in accordance with that plan and under the terms of Indian Independence Act of 1947, there have emerged two independent sovereign States. In accepting the Plan, even before then, solemn declarations were made both by the Congress and the Muslim League that the minorities of both States would be given a fair deal and that safeguards for them should be secured specially for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights in consultation with them and that position is not seriously questioned even now by any responsible person.

Terrific Bloodshed

The birth of the two Dominions was, I am glad to say, celebrated everywhere as the day of the attainment of freedom and independence, not only for these two major nations but for all the inhabitants of this great sub-continent—yet immediately thereafter there came this terrific bloodshed which was undoubtedly intended to eliminate the Muslim minorities from Hindustan.

Lastly, I must emphasize that the Congress and the Indian Dominion Government must put down the leadership of those who planned this ruthless killing and also those elements which are collaborating with them to defy law and order.

No Retaliation: no Revenge

I have refrained as far as possible from apportioning blame between the Hindus as a community or the Muslims as a community. But I must make it clear that I deplore and condemn without reserve the horrible deeds of killing and destruction that have taken place irrespective of their place of occurrence or origin.

I have done my utmost, and I am glad to say, not without considerable success, to impress upon the Muslims that whatever the provocation, there shall be no retaliation, no revenge. On the contrary, it is the duty of every Muslim as a man of honour—and, what is more, his religion enjoins it upon them that there shall be no retaliation or revenge that it is our bounden duty to protect the minorities and that we mean to give them a fair deal as our citizens." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, October 24-25, 1947.

1037

Telegraphic message to Maharaja of Kashmir, Karachi, October 25, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a telegram to the Maharaja of Kashmir, on October 25, 1947, stated:

"I have received a telegram, dated October 18, from your Prime Minister regarding the situation in Kashmir, which I regret, was released to the Press before it reached me and before I could deal with it. My Government have already been in communication with your Government and I deplore that your Prime Minister should have resorted to the tone and language adopted in his telegram to me, which embodies a threat to seek outside assistance and is almost in the nature of an ultimatum.

This is hardly the way for any responsible and friendly government to handle the situation that has arisen."

Offensive Manner

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's telegram continued: "On October 15, your Prime Minister sent a telegram to my Government making similar allegations in the same offensive manner as have been repeated in his telegram of October 18 now addressed to me without waiting for the reply to his earlier telegram from my Government. My Government have already replied to that telegram on October 18, and this reply shows clearly that your Government's wholly one-sided and *ex parte* allegations cannot be supported.

"Since your Government have released to the Press the telegram addressed to me under reply, my Government have no other course left open and have, therefore, decided to release to the Press their reply, referred to above, refuting your Government's allegations.

Untrue Allegations

"The allegation in the telegram under reply that the Standstill Agreement has not been observed is entirely wrong. The difficulties that have been felt by your administration have arisen as a result of the widespread disturbance in East Punjab and the disruption of communications caused thereby, particularly by the shortage of coal.

"These difficulties have been felt acutely by the West Punjab Government themselves. The difficulties with regard to banking facilities were caused by lack of staff in the various banks and cannot be laid at the door of the West Punjab Government who have, in fact, tried their best to ensure protection to the banks. The failure of remittances from the Lahore Currency Officer has nothing to do with the Pakistan Government since the Lahore Currency Officer is under the Reserve Bank of India.

Travesty of Truth

"Your Government's complaints regarding Press report, and telegrams by private persons, are also wide off the mark. Your Government do not realize the fact that there is no censorship in West Punjab. The complaint about local and provincial authorities is thus wholly unfounded. It is a travesty of the truth to call the promises of the Central Government, paper promises, as your Government alleges. My Government adheres to these assurances and have every intention of carrying out the Standstill Agreement."

Smoke Screen

The telegram further stated:

"In order to remove the various difficulties relating to communications and supply of goods, my Government suggested long ago that representatives of the Governments of Pakistan and Kashmir should meet. The request was ignored.

"In the circumstances, I am reluctantly forced to the conclusion that these unfounded allegations and accusations are only a smoke-screen to cover the real aim of your Government's policy.

"A recent instance of this policy is the differential treatment accorded to leaders of the Kashmir National Confernce and the Muslim Conference. On the one hand, your Government has released Shaikh Abdullah who was tried and convicted of high treason, removed the ban on his colleagues and allowed the National Conference Organisation a free field to carry on their propaganda.

"On the other hand, Mr. Ghulam Abbas and his colleagues whose alleged offence was only that they disobeyed the order banning the meeting of the Muslim Conference are still rotting in jail and the Muslim Conference Organisation is not allowed its elementary right of civil liberties.

Suppression of Muslims

"The course which your Government is pursuing in suppressing the Musalmans in every way, the atrocities which are being committed by your troops and which are driving Muslims out of the State, the various indications given in the Press, particularly the release to the Press of your Prime Minister's telegram addressed to me containing unfounded allegations and the threat to enlist outside assistance show clearly that the real aim of your Government's policy is to seek an opportunity to join the Indian Dominion as a *coup d'etat* by securing the intervention and assistance of that Dominion. This policy is naturally creating deep resentment and grave apprehension among your subjects, 85 per cent of whom are Muslims."

Kashmir-Pakistan Meeting

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's telegram concluded: "The proposal made by my Government for a meeting with your accredited representatives is now an urgent necessity. I suggest that the way to smooth out the difficulties and adjust matters in a friendly way is for your Prime Minister to come to Karachi and discuss the developments that have taken place instead of carrying on a bitter controversy by telegrams and correspondence.

"I would also repeat that I endorse the suggestion made in your Prime Minister's telegram of October 15 and accepted by my Government in their reply to October 18 to have an impartial enquiry made into the whole affair."

The Civil & Military Gazette, October 26, 1947.

1038

Speech at a Rally at the University Stadium, Lahore, October 30, 1947

"We have achieved our cherished goal of freedom and have established Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State, fifth largest in the world. That freedom can never be attained by a nation without suffering and sacrifice, has been amply borne out by the recent tragic happenings in this sub-continent. We are in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings; we have been through dark days of apprehension and anguish; but I can say with confidence that with courage and self-reliance and by the grace of God we shall emerge triumphant!

"Some people might think that the acceptance of the June 3 plan was a mistake on the part of the Muslim League. I would like to tell them that the consequences of any other alternative would have been too disastrous to imagine. On our side we proceeded to implement this plan with a clean conscience and honest intentions. Time and history will prove that. On the other hand, history will also record its verdict on those whose treachery and machinations let loose forces of disorder and disruption in this sub-continent causing death of lakhs, enormous destruction of property and bringing about suffering and misery to many millions by uprooting them from their hearths and homes and all that was dear to them. The systematic massacre of defenceless and innocent people puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrants known to history. We have been the victims of a deeply-laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour. We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours.

"Do not for a moment imagine that your enemies can ever succeed in their designs. But at the same time do not make light of the situation facing you. Search your hearts and see whether you have done your part in the construction of this new and mighty State.

"Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of the "*Mujahids*". You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory.

"All I require of you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without. Your immediate task is the rehabilitation of millions of our distressed and unfortunate brethern who are either already with us or who have still to join us in Pakistan, bereft of all they possessed or had in this world. The least we now can do for them is to receive them as our own brethern. No decent or sane person should consider that they are unwelcome burden thrust on us. Save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that they are Muslims.

"Alongwith this, keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause.

"I would also impress upon every member of this State, particularly our youth, to show the right spirit of devotion, courage and fortitude, to give a lead to the others and to set a nobler and higher example for those who may follow us and the coming generations.

"Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the prerequisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed. Despite the treatment which is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to impress upon every Musalman, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint, because retaliation and violation of law and order will ultimately result in weakening the very foundations of the edifice you have cherished all these years to erect.

"Do your duty and have faith in God. There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan. It has come to stay. Our deeds are proving to the world that we are in the right and I can assure you that the sympathies of the world, particularly of the Islamic countries, are with you. We in turn are grateful to every nation who has stretched out to us its hand of help and friendliness.

"In the end, I once again appeal to the good sense of every subject and citizen of our State not to take law and order into his own hands but so to behave and act as to be a pillar of strength to put an end to the miseries and hardships of our unfortunate brethern seeking shelter with us, and battling against grave danger and menace which is facing us."

The Civil & Military Gazette, October 31, 1947.

1039

Message in a broadcast from Pakistan Broadcasting Service, Lahore, October 30, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a broadcast from the Lahore Station of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service on October 30, 1947 at 8.30 p.m., gave the following message to the people of Pakistan:

"A few days ago, I received harrowing accounts of the terrible happenings in the Punjab and the situation from all accounts appeared to be so grave that I decided to come to Lahore. On my arrival here I immediately got in touch with various sources that were available to me and I was deeply grieved to realise that unfortunately, there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me.

"I am speaking to you under deep distress and with a heavy heart. We have, undoubtedly, achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of pen which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed. Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the whole history of the world by resorting to frenzy, savagery and butchery? And will this lead us anywhere? Pakistan is now a *fait accompli* and it can never be undone, besides, it was the only just, honourable and practical solution of the most complex constitutional problem of this great sub-continent.

Boundary Commission Award Unjust and Perverse

"The division of India is now finally and irrevocably affected. No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent sovereign Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary

Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse Award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse, and it may not be a judicial but political Award, but we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope.

"Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation and our sovereign State of Pakistan which, you know, is not only the biggest Muslim State in the world but the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world. Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Mussalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly and selflessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands, we have undoubtedly talents, Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities. Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make the best of it.

Protect Minorities

"It is agreed on all hands that peace should be restored without delay and that law and order must be established and maintained at any cost. Now it is up to the leaders and the rank and file of the communities to leave no stone unturned in fulfilling the sacred and honourable undertaking that was given at the Special Conference on August 29 to protect the minorities and work in every way for the welfare and safety of the refugees.

"The Lahore Conference of August 29 has further laid down categorically certain ways and means to be adopted to implement its decisions and such further measures will be taken which have the solemn, firm and determined sanction of the Pakistan and the Dominion of India Governments. Henceforth they will be naturally responsible as the Punjab Boundary Force, which was limited only to certain areas, could not deal with the entire Punjab—both West and East—especially now as

the rural areas have also been affected and, therefore, it has been abolished.

"These decisions and measures adopted by the Special Conference should reassure the people of all communities that both the Pakistan and India Governments are determined to put down ruthlessly these orgies and their far-reaching consequences. But it requires both the communities concerned to realise the folly and futility of indulging in this savagery which has already taken a colossal toll of human life and especially of the innocent ones and has displaced hundreds of thousands of innocent people, rendered them homeless and delivered them to starvation, and the misery of wandering about in the country-side for their lives, besides resulting in the destruction of property on an extensive scale.

Indelible Stigma

"This is not the moment for me to go into the origin or cause of all that is happening or to apportion blame as to which community has disgraced itself more. It will be for the historians to give their verdict. Humanity cries loud against this shameful conduct and the deeds that have been committed. Those who are responsible for this holocaust must be dealt with an iron hand and put down ruthlessly. The civilised world is looking upon these doings and happenings with horror and the fair name of the communities concerned stands blackened in the eyes of the world.

"It is now up to the leaders and those responsible and in charge of the Governments to make their supreme effort to make amends for this indelible stigma. While the horizon is beset with dark clouds, let me appeal to you and give this message to the people of Pakistan: Create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task with courage and hope and we shall do it. Are we down-hearted? Certainly not. The history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination. So march on notwithstanding obstructions, obstacles and

interference, and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 million people with a grim determination and with a great civilisation and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you to work, work and work and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our motto, unity, discipline and faith.

"I have so far spoken to you in English as you know that the eyes of the world are upon Pakistan and we are watched by the various nations of the world with the keenest interest since the establishment of Pakistan as an independent sovereign state which has been a great and historical event. I, therefore, used the medium of English so as to be able to reach the world-wide audience, which has exhibited great interest in Pakistan.

"The text of my broadcast will be translated in Urdu and read to you in a few minutes time as well as published in the Press tomorrow, but, nevertheless, I would also like to say a few words in Urdu..."

"پنجاب کے مسلمانوں کے بلانے پر میں اٹھائیس تاریخ کو لاہور آیا۔ جہاں تک مجھ سے ہو سکا.... اور جس طرح مجھ سے ہو سکا..... میں نے اصل اور ٹھیک ٹھیک حالات کا پتا لگایا.... اور آج کل جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے اس کو سمجھنے کی پوری کوشش کی۔

"آپ کو اس وقت تک معلوم ہو گیا ہو گا کہ لاہور میں جو سپیشل کانفرنس ہوئی تھی.....اس میں کیا کیا فیصلے کئے گئے .... اور ان پر عمل کرنے کے کون سے قدم اٹھائے گئے۔

"اس کانفرنس میں انڈین ڈومینین اور پاکستان کی حکومتوں کے نمائندے.... ڈومینین آف انڈیا اور پاکستان کے گورنر یعنی لارڈ ماؤنٹ بیٹن اور میں ..... ہمارے صلاح کار اور سپیشلسٹ شامل تھے۔

"کانفرنس نے پورے پورے اتفاق کے ساتھ یہ اعلان کیا ہے.... کہ دونوں حکومتوں کا یہ پاک فرض ہے کہ وہ عوام کے مال اور جان کی ہر طرح سے حفاظت کریں گے .... اور ہزاروں کی تعداد میں جو لوگ اپنا گھر بار چھوڑ کر بھاگ رہے ہیں .... ان کی حفاظت .... ان کی دیکھ بھال .... اور بہتری کے لئے دونوں حکومتیں اپنی اپنی طاقت کے مطابق سب کچھ کریں گی۔

"میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک پاکستان کی حکومت کا تعلق ہے .... ہم اپنی

ذمہ داری کو سرانجام دینے کے لئے سب کچھ کریں گے۔

"مجھے پوری امید ہے کہ انڈین ڈومینین کی حکومت بھی ایسا ہی کرے گی۔

"جن جن باتوں پر ہم نے اقرار کیا ہے .... اگر ان کو باعزت طریقہ سے.... اور پورے ارادے اور طاقت سے پورا کیا گیا.... تو مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس وقت جو نازک صورت حال پیدا ہو چکی ہے.... اس میں جلد ہی اچھی تبدیلی پیدا ہو گی.... اور ہم سب پھر امن و امان سے دونوں حکومتوں میں آزاد قوموں کی طرح زندگی خوشی سے بسر کریں گے۔ پاکستان زندہ باد۔"

The Pakistan Times, October 31, 1947.

1040

Address to a deputation of the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, Lahore, October 31, 1947.

"Pakistan is proud of her youth, particularly the students who have always been in the forefront in the hour of trial and need.

"You are the nation-builders of tomorrow and you must fully equip yourself by discipline, education and training for the arduous task lying ahead of you. You should realize the magnitude of your responsibility and be ready to bear it." He said that the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, would uphold its noble tradition of selfless devotion to national cause."

The Quaid-i-Azam told the deputation that he would ask the students to come forward in large numbers to help the refugees and afford them relief in every possible way as that was the immediate task confronting the nation at the moment.

The Pakistan Times, November 1, 1947.

1041

Message to the Armed Forces, Security Guard and the People of Rawalpindi, Karachi, November 8, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who was expected to go to Rawalpindi on November 8, 1947, had to postpone his departure owing to sudden illness. The Quaid-i-Azam, however in a message to the Armed Forces, members of the Security Guard and the people of Rawalpindi expressed his deep anxiety to be with them as soon as it was possible for him to do so.

The Quaid-i-Azam, in the course of his message, said:

"You do not know how deeply disappointed I am that I am unable to come to Rawalpindi and meet our people and the officers and soldiers of the Armed Forces and the newly formed National Security Guard. Suddenly I have been laid up with a temperature. It is impossible for me to undertake the journey to Rawalpindi and I do hope that you will understand it that I cannot help it. Please go through the programme as previously arranged and please convey my greetings to all.

"My heart is with you though my indisposition prevents me physically to be with you. I want you all to work with complete unity and harmony and notwithstanding all the dangers that are facing us just now. I am sure we will march forward through them successfully with the honour and prestige of Pakistan higher than ever and upholding the high traditions of Islam and our national banner.

"I was so anxious to go to Rawalpindi and I shall take an early opportunity to be with you as soon as it is possible for me to do so." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, November 9, 1947.

1042

Message to the British officers who volunteered to serve Pakistan, Karachi, November 22, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, sent the following message on November 22, 1947, to the British officers serving under the Supreme Commander and who had volunteered to serve in Pakistan:

"The terms for British officers who volunteered to serve in the Pakistan Armed Forces after the closing down of the Supreme Command Headquarters have already been published. Pakistan is a new country in which there is much work to be done. Our Armed Forces have to be reorganized and built up to the highest standard of efficiency. Our own Pakistani officers are at present inadequate in numbers, in technical training and in experience to shoulder the whole burden at once. But my Government's policy is complete nationalisation of the officers' cadre of the three services at such speed as is compatible with efficiency.

"I extend to all British officers, who are prepared to stay on and help us, a sincere welcome and I am confident that my Government will treat them in the same way as our nationals in our service."

The Pakistan Times, November 23, 1947.

1043

Message to the All-Pakistan Educational Conference, Karachi, November 27, 1947.

"I am glad that the Pakistan Educational Confernce is being held tomorrow in Karachi. I welcome you all to the capital of Pakistan and wish you every success in your deliberations, which I sincerely hope will bear fruitful and practical results.

"You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over-emphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.

"There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education and the way in which we bring up our children as the future servants of Pakistan. Education does not merely mean academic education, and even that appears to be of a very poor type. What we have to do is to mobilize our people and build up the character of our future generations. There is immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up our economic life, and we should see that our people undertake scientific, commerce, trade and particularly, well-planned industries. But do not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction. Also I must emphasize that greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education.

"In short, we have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation, and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully qualified or equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, November 28, 1947.

1044

Address in reply to the speech made by Sardar Najibullah Khan, special representative of H.M. the King of Afghanistan in Pakistan at the time of presenting credentials, Karachi, December 3, 1947.

Your Excellency!

"It has given me indeed very great pleasure to welcome you and to receive through you today, the gracious message of good wishes from His Majesty the King of Afghanistan. May I take this opportunity of asking you to convey to your august Sovereign my highest regard and esteem for him, and to the Government and the people of Afghanistan most cordial good wishes on behalf of myself, my Government and the people of Pakistan. I would also ask Your Excellency to convey my thanks to the Government of Afghanistan for the cordiality, hospitality and friendship that was extended to my Personal Representative, Nawab Saidullah Khan, during his stay in Kabul.

"The Government and the people of Pakistan entertain nothing but feelings of warmest friendship towards the Muslim Kingdom of Afghanistan which is our closest neighbour and with whom, for many centuries and for many generations, the people of Pakistan have had countless religious, cultural and social ties. It is doubtless known to Your Excellency that the people of Pakistan have always admired the spirit of independence of the Afghan nation and its great strength of character.

"I desire that the relationship between these two sister nations may be of the greatest and the most lasting friendship, and I hope that the two Governments will soon be able to settle and adjust, in a spirit of goodwill for the benefit of both, all those

matters which require our immediate attention, and I do trust that the coming negotiations, that may take place, will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist.

"I cordially welcome you as the first Representative of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan on behalf of our brotherly Islamic neighbour to Pakistan, and I assure you on behalf of my Government and myself that we shall extend every assistance, co-operation and goodwill to you. May your stay in Pakistan be pleasant and happy."

The Pakistan Times, December 4, 1947.

1045

Speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Karachi, December 14-15, 1947.

A meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held at Karachi in camera. The Quaid-i-Azam presided. Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council for about an hour in English, and his speech was later translated into Urdu by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Mr. Jinnah began by welcoming the members, and reviewed the events that led to the partition of India. Referring to the developments that had taken place since the session of the League Council of June 8, Mr. Jinnah said: "We are meeting today to discuss what is going to be the future structure of the All-India Muslim League. As you know, the Muslim League has achieved and established Pakistan in a way and in a manner which has no parallel. The Muslims were a crowd, they were demoralized, and they had to suffer economically. We have achieved Pakistan, not for the League, not for any of our colleagues, but for the masses. Muslim India would have been finished if Pakistan had not been achieved. We have established

Pakistan where there are at least 60 millions of Muslims, with a mighty territory and complete sovereignty. Credit for this must go to the Minority Provinces. We both agreed (the Congress and the League) regarding the treatment of the minorities. I never thought that the Hindus would resort not only to killing and destroying life and property, but to organized group barbarites. It was intended to give a blow to Pakistan. There was pre-planned."

The Quaid-i-Azam deplored the human madness that had overwhelmed people and brought misery to many homes.

While condemning the disturbances in both the Dominions, the Quaid-i-Azam reminded the Muslims that it was against Islam to indulge in such crimes. He expressed the hope that the minorities in both the Dominions would be assured adequate protection, and as the Governor-General of Pakistan, he would do his duty.

The Quaid-i-Azam recalled the charges that were being levelled against Pakistan and its leaders about the betrayal of the Muslim masses in the Indian Union. He said, he was full of feelings for the Muslim masses in the Indian Union who were, unfortunately, facing bad days. He advised the Indian Muslims to organize themselves so as to become powerful enough to safeguard their political rights. A well-organized minority should be powerful enough to protect its own rights—political, cultural, economic and social. On his part, he assured them of his full realization that the achievement of Pakistan was the outcome of the labour and toil of the Muslims in India as well as of those who were now enjoying its fruits. Pakistan would help them in every possible way.

A member interrupted and asked the Quaid-i-Azam if he would once again, be prepared to take over the leadership of the Muslims of India in the present hour of trial. The Quaid-i-Azam replied that he was quite willing to do so if the Council gave its verdict in favour of such a proposal. He recalled his

statement at the time of the achievement of Pakistan, the cherished goal of the Muslim nation, he wanted to lead a retired life. But if called upon, he was quite ready to leave Pakistan and share the difficulties of the Muslims in the Indian Union and to lead them....

Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council again and said: "Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim State based on Islamic ideals. It was not going to be an ecclesiastical State. In Islam there is no discrimination as far as citizenship is concerned. The whole world, even UNO, has characterized Pakistan as a Muslim State.

"There must be a Muslim League in Hindustan. If you are thinking of anything else, you are finished. If you want to wind up the League you can do so; but I think it would be a great mistake. I know there is an attempt. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others are trying to break the identity of Muslims in India. Do not allow it. Do not do it."

The Daily Gazette, December 16, 1947.

1046

Interview to Robert Stimson, Correspondent of BBC; Karachi, December 19, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in an interview to Mr. Robert Stimson, BBC Correspondent, on December 19, 1947, discussing future relations between Great Britain and Pakistan, said:

"The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not.

"But personally I have no doubt that Pakistan will be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing member for the

mutual benefit, and Great Britain should exercise the great moral responsibilities, she has, as the senior member of the Commonwealth."

The Quaid-i-Azam added: "At the moment I feel Great Britain is treating Pakistan with indifference. I fully realize that Britain has no power to intervene in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time Britain and other Dominions are in a position to use moral persuasion to help settle differences between members of the Commonwealth. It appears to me that His Majesty's Government are so far shirking their responsibility in this respect."

Question of Kashmir

On the question of Kashmir, the Quaid-i-Azam said that it was a grave issue and he would refrain from making any statement at this stage as talks were going on between the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Referring to the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League to split the organization into separate Muslim Leagues for Pakistan and the Indian Dominion, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "Since August 15, the Muslims in Pakistan and the Muslims in the Indian Dominion have been faced, and are still faced, with entirely different problems. That is beyond question. It is only right, therefore, that the Muslims of India should be free to form their own independent policy." The Quaid-i-Azam added that it would be impracticable, and indeed i
single Muslim organization to operate in two Dominions.

Pakistan League

Asked whether the Muslim League of Pakistan would eventually transform itself into a national organization open to members of all religious communities, the Quaid-i-Azam said "The time has not yet come for a national organization of that kind. Public opinion among the Muslims of Pakistan is not yet

ready for it. We must not be dazzled by democratic slogans that have no foundation in reality.

"The Muslims have only just won their own Muslim homeland, and they have still to build a structure that will suit conditions and developments that will take place. But the decision to form a purely Muslim organization in Pakistan is not irrevocable. It may be altered as and when necessary to suit changing conditions. Nothing is static in politics. It all depends upon what progress we make and further developments that may take place."

Referring to the Palestine problem, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said that the Muslims of the sub-continent had been compelled to condemn in the strongest possible manner the unjust and cruel decision of the United Nations concerning the partition of Palestine.

"The Muslims of the sub-continent, "he said, "are obviously reluctant to antagonize the United States, or any other country, but our sense of justice obliges us to help the Arab cause in Palestine in every way that is open to us."

The Quaid-i-Azam said he thought it regrettable that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain had not pursued with more resoluteness their efforts to find a just and honourable solution of the Palestine problem. "With greater persistence His Majesty's Government might have been more successful than the United Nations," declared the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Civil & Military Gazette, December 20, 1947.

1047

Message to the Pakistan Boy Scouts, Karachi, December 22, 1947.

"Scouting can play a very vital role in forming the character of our youth, promoting their physical, mental and spiritual development, and making them well-disciplined, useful and good citizens.

"If the real aim of the movement is to be achieved, scouts should learn to pay more than lip service to the scout laws and should not think that the scout movement is limited to going about in uniforms, scarves and badges for show. We are living in a far from perfect world. Despite the progress of civilization, the law of the jungle, unfortunately, still prevails. Might is considered right and the strong do not refrain from exploiting the weak. Self-advancement, greed and lust for power sway the conduct of individuals as that of nations. If we are to build a safer, cleaner and happier world let us start with the individual—catch him young and inculcate in him the scout's motto of service before self and purity in thought, word and deed. If our young people learn to befriend all, to help other people at all times, subordinate personal interest to the welfare of others, eschew violence of thought, word and action, I am sanguine that the attachment of universal brotherhood is possible and within our reach. So I wish you God speed." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, December 23, 1947.

1048

Telegraphic message in reply to a telegram of thanks for Pakistan's support to Arabs on Palestine issue from the King of Yemen, Imam Yahiya, Karachi, December 24, 1947.

In reply to a telegram of thanks for Pakistan's support to Arabs on Palestine issue from the Yemen, Imam Yahiya, the Quaid-i-Azam sent the following telegram on December 24, 1947:

"Your Majesty's telegram of December 3, on behalf of my Government and the people of Pakistan and on my own, I thank Your Majesty most sincerely for your message and all the kind sentiments expressed therein.

"I fully share Your Majesty's surprise and shock at the serious lack of judgment shown by the UNO by their unjust decision in respect of Palestine. I once more assure you and our Arab brethren that Pakistan will stand by them and do all that is possible to help and support them in their opposition on the UNO decision which is inherently unjust and outrageous."

The Pakistan Times, December 25, 1947.

1049

Address in reply to the speech by His Excellency Mohammad Pasha El Shuraiki, Minister of State, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Transjordan, Karachi, December 24, 1947.

"It is a great pleasure and indeed a great privilege for me to welcome Your Excellency and your colleagues and to receive through you a message of good wishes and congratulations from His Majesty the King of Transjordan on the achievement of

independence by Pakistan. I assure Your Excellency that my Government and the people of Pakistan greatly appreciate the gracious message of your august Sovereign and the affection and regard expressed by the people of Transjordan for their brethren in this country. I need hardly assure Your Excellency that the Government and people of Pakistan heartily reciprocate the noble sentiments so generously expressed through Your Excellency's mission.

Sympathies

"In the struggle for freedom which the Muslims of this great sub-continent had to face, the thought that we always carried with us, the sympathies of the Muslim World and particularly of such great torch-bearers of Islam as His Majesty the King of Transjordan, was a source of great encouragement and inspiration. It is all the more gratifying, therefore, for the people of Pakistan to receive this message on the occasion of their Independence.

"I have no doubt that Your Excellency's mission will further cement the bonds of brotherhood and affection which exist and subsist between our two people. Islam is to us the source of our very life and existence and it has linked our cultural and traditional past so closely with the Arab World that there need be no doubt whatsoever about our fullest sympathy for the Arab cause.

"I request Your Excellency to be good enough to convey my most grateful thanks and the thanks of the people of Pakistan to His Majesty, Your King, and to the people of Transjordan for the good wishes conveyed to us through Your Excellency's mission.

"Finally I have great pleasure in informing Your Excellency that my Government have agreed to the proposal of Your Government that there should be an exchange of diplomatic missions between Pakistan and Transjordan. In the

fulfilment of this desire, I am looking forward to the pleasure of welcoming to Karachi a representative of your great country.

"I am sure, my Government and my people will do all they can to make your sojourn in Karachi happy and pleasant."

The Pakistan Times, December 25, 1947.

1050

Statement in reference to a passage in the Address of Welcome presented by the Divisional Superintendent and Officers of North Western Railway, Karachi, December 27, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah referring to a passage in the Address of Welcome presented by the Divisional Superintendent and officers of the North-Western Railway on December 28, 1947 which stated, "we beg to assure you that we shall follow you through sunshine and fire", said:

"We are going through fire: the sunshine has yet to come. But I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline we will not only remain the fifth largest State in the world but will compare with any nation of the world. Are you prepared to undergo the fire? You must make up your mind now. We must sink individualism and petty jealousies and make up our minds to serve the people with honesty and faithfulness. We are passing through a period of fear, danger and menace. We must have faith, unity and discipline."

The Civil & Military Gazette, December 30, 1947.

1948

1051

Message sent to the Refugees on the occasion of tour of the not-affected areas, Karachi, January 9, 1948.

"I quite understand the feeling of the Muslim refugees and those who have suffered, and they have my fullest sympathy, but they must restrain themselves and act as responsible men, and not abuse the hospitality that has been extended to them and forget all that is being done for them to make their lot happier. I once more want to impress upon all Muslims that they should fully cooperate with the Government and the officials in protecting their Hindu neighbours against these lawless elements, fifth-columnists and the cliques who are responsible for creating these disturbances, and restore trust and confidence amongst all the communities. Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted Government, and not by cliques, or fifth-columnists or a mob, and the Pakistan Government are going to take the severest possible measures against the offenders, and they shall be dealt with sternly and ruthlessly. I fully sympathize with Hindus many of whom have been misled by propaganda that is being carried on to pull them out of Sind, with an ulterior motive, and as a result many innocent Hindus have seriously suffered. With regard to this unfortunte trouble, it is not yet known who was responsible for bringing the Sikhs to Karachi and arranging to lodge them at the Gurdwara without informing the District Magistrate, Sind, or any Sind Authority or Police: this is a matter which requires thorough investigation. At present it seems somewhat mysterious, but it is going to be fully investigated." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, January 11, 1948.

1052

Address in reply to the speech made by the Burmese Ambassador in Pakistan at the time of presenting credentials, Karachi, January 21, 1948.

Your Excellency!

"It gives me great pleasure to receive you today in your capacity as the first Ambassador of the Union of Burma to Pakistan.

"Your Excellency is no stranger to us as you have already been here for some months as the High Commissioner for Burma. The leaders and the people of Burma are also no strangers to us as, in the past, history had brought our destinies together. With the great changes that took place on August 15, 1947, geography has also brought our future closely together as the borders of Your Excellency's great country are contiguous for hundreds of miles with the borders of Pakistan. As I had said in my message to the President of the Union of Burma, the attainment of complete independence by Your Excellency's country on the fourth of this month gave us in Pakistan the greatest pleasure as it marked the culmination of a process which was initiated in this very sub-continent.

"I have no doubt that as in the past, in future also the many bonds that exist between the Union of Burma and Pakistan will be strengthened to the mutual advantage of both countries. I hope that these two lands both ancient in history but both on the road to a new and high destiny, will strive with energy to establish a lasting era of progress and peace.

"I welcome Your Excellency's assurance to discharge your duties in such a manner as may best conduce to the lasting benefit of both peoples. I am glad to note that during your short term of office as High Commissioner in Pakistan you have

received every assitance from Pakistan. I have no doubt that in the future also these good relations will continue and I assure you of our co-operation with your Government.

"On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan I once more extend to Your Excellency a most cordial welcome."

The Pakistan Times, January 22, 1948.

1053

Address to the Establishment of H.M.P.S.* 'Dilawar', Karachi, January 23, 1948.

Gentlemen!

"The First World War of 1914-18 was fought to end war. Its horrors quickened the conscience of the world and set statesmen thinking to devise ways and means of outlawing war. This led to the birth of the League of Nations and the idea of collective security, but the League of Nations proved only a pious hope. It failed to avert World War II. The destruction caused by the First World War pales into insignificance as compared to the devastation and havoc resulting from the last World War and now with the discovery of the Atom Bomb, one shudders to think of the pattern of future wars. The war-weary humanity is watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organization for its ability to successfully deal with the causes of war and threats to world peace will depend on the salvation of mankind and the future of civilization. Pakistan which has been recently admitted to the United Nations Organisation will do everything in its power to strengthen the Organisation and help in the achievement of the ideals which have been set up as its goal. While giving the fullest support to the principles of the United Nations Charter we cannot afford to neglect our

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* His Majestey's Pakistan Ship

defences. However strong the United Nations Organiation might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenceless in this imperfect world invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak, and therefore, they can bully or attack. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us. Pakistan is still in its infancy and so is its Navy and other branches of the Armed Forces. But this infant means to grow up and God willing will grow up much sooner than many people think.

"Everyone of you has an important role to play in strengthening the defence of the country and your watchwords should be faith, discipline and self-sacrifice. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty for it is no life that matters but the courage, fortitude and determination you bring to it.

"I see some of you, who constitute the bodyguard at present provided at the Governor-General's residence, practically everyday. Today I see you in much larger numbers and I am greatly impressed by your bearing and turn-out. You must remember that your Headquarter—Karachi, the gateway to Western Pakistan, besides being the port of call of ships of other nations, is also on the air route from the West to the East. People from all over the globe pass through Karachi and the eyes of the world are on you. I trust that by your behaviour and deportment you will never let Pakistan down but would keep up the best traditions of the service and maintain high the honour and prestige of Pakistan as one of the greatest nations of the world."

The Pakistan Times, January 24, 1948.

1054

Address to Bar Association, Karachi, on the occasion of the Holy Prophet's birthday, Karachi, January 25, 1948.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, speaking at a reception given to him on the Holy Prophet's birthday by the Bar Association, Karachi, said that he could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of *Shariat*. The Quaid-i-Azam said "Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1, 300 years ago."

The Governor-General of Pakistan said that he would like to tell those who are misled—"some are misled by propaganda"—that not only the Muslims but also non-Muslims have nothing to fear.

"Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice for everybody. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said: "Let us make it (the future constitution of Pakistan). We shall make it and we will show it to the world.

March in One Formation

Of provincialism, the Governor-General of Pakistan said that it was a disease and a curse. He added: "I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism. A nation can never make progress unless it marches in one formation. We are all Pakistanis and citizens of the State and we should serve, sacrifice and die for the State so that we may make it the most glorious and sovereign State in the world.

Tributes to the Prophet

The Quaid-i-Azam, speaking on this great and historic occasion, said: "I thank you for welcoming me. I have known this Bar Association for a considerable time. Today we have met here in a small body to pay tributes to the great man for not only he has reverence of millions but also commands the respect of all the great men of the world. What tribute can I, a humble man, pay to this great man.

Great Law-Giver

"The Prophet was a great teacher. He was a great law-giver. He was a great statesman and he was a great Sovereign who ruled. No doubt, there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam.

"Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fairplay and justice for all. One God and the equality of manhood is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. In Islam there is no difference between man and man. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam.

The Governor-General of Pakistan observed that the life of the Prophet was simple according to those times. He was successful in everything that he put his hand to; from as a businessman to as a ruler. He said that the Prophet was the greatest man that the world had ever seen. "Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundations of democracy." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, January 27, 1948.

1055

Statement on the assassination of Mr. Gandhi, Karachi, January 30, 1948.

"I am shocked to learn of the most dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Gandhi, resulting in his death. There can be no controversy in the face of death.

"Whatever our political differences, he was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu community, and a leader who commanded their universal confidence and respect."

"I wish to express my deep sorrow, and sincerely sympathize with the great Hindu community and his family in their bereavement at this momentous, historical and critical juncture so soon after the birth of freedom and freedom for Hindustan and Pakistan.

"The loss to the Dominion of India is irreparable, and it will be very difficult to fill the vacuum created by the passing away of such a great man at this moment". (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, January 31, 1948.

1056

Speech on the opening ceremony of the Bengal Oil Mills, Karachi, February 2, 1948.

"It has given me great pleasure to come here today to perform the opening ceremony of the Bengal Oil Mills. Every new mill or factory means a step forward on the road to the economic stabilization of our country and the prosperity of its people. Millions of our brethren have been displaced by the cataclysm that attended the birth of Pakistan. Most of them have lost all their worldly belongings as also their means of livelihood. Their rehabilitation presents a problem of colossal magnitude, the successful solution of which would require the concerted

efforts of the Government and the people. The response to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has been magnificent and the munificence of people like you will go a long way in mitigating the suffering of the stricken but gratuitous relief and doles are only palliatives and do not provide a satisfactory solution of the refugees' problem. We do not want merely to keep these unfortunate people alive as a drag on society—we want them to live as self-respecting, self-relying and useful members of society. All the refugees are not agriculturists and even all the agriculturists cannot be settled on land without fragmenting the available arable land into small uneconomic holdings. The only way in which these people can be put on their feet again is the rapid industrialization of the country which would provide new avenues of employment for them. Nature has blessed us with plenty of raw materials and it is now up to us to harness our resources to the best advantage of our State and its people.

"You have mentioned the trials and tribulations of the Muslims of Kathiawar during the last few stormy months. While I fully sympathize with them in their suffering, I am sure they will not be overwhelmed by these temporary setbacks. Their resilience will enable them to weather these storms with equanimity and by their resourcefulness and spirit of enterprise they would soon retrieve their lost fortunes.

"I thank you once again for your generous contributions to the Relief Fund and I wish your venture all success and prosperity and hope that it may prove a precursor to many more enterprises for which there is so much scope in Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, February 3, 1948.

1057

Speech in reply to Address of Welcome presented by the Parsi Community of Sind, Karachi, February 3, 1948.

"I am thankful to you for your Address of Welcome and the kind words you have spoken about me and Miss Fatima Jinnah. I deeply appreciate your offer of loyal co-operation with the Govenment of Pakistan and I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste and creed. Pakistan which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian sub-continent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders. It is a pity that the fair name of Karachi was sullied by the sudden outburst of communal frenzy last month and I cannot find words strong enough to condemn the action of those who were responsible for it. Government is determined in its resolve to root out lawlessness and to see that there is no recurrence of such incidents.

"As you may be aware, the Government has been making genuine efforts to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities and if their exodus from Sind still continues, it is not because they are not wanted here but because they are more prone to listen to people across the border who are interested in pulling them out. I am sorry for these misguided people for nothing but disillusionment awaits them in their promised land.

"I realize that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property but you should not judge Government's action too harshly. Accommodation could not be provided for the large number of Pakistan officials and foreign legations without disturbing some of the local residents. The problem was further complicated by the influx of a large number of refugees—whose tempers had been frayed by

the suffering undergone by them. These unfortunate people require sympathetic handling, and your assistance in resettling them will be most welcome.

"Parsis as a community have fortunately escaped the ravages of the recent internecine conflict that has brought so much suffering to other communities, and I see no reason why the future should hold any terror for them. They have already established a place for themselves in this country by their organizing ability, spirit of enterprise and hard work. Pakistan provide an ample field for the outlet of their genius particularly in the realm of trade, commerce and industry and they should come forward and play their role as true citizens in making Pakistan one of the greatest nations and a land of prosperity and plenty." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, February 4, 1948.

1058

Message on the attainment of Dominion Status by Ceylon, Karachi, February 4, 1948.

"The attainment of dominion status by Ceylon in the wake of India and Pakistan is a matter for greater satisfaction and rejoicing to us, and on behalf of the people of Pakistan and myself, I extend to you our sincerest congratulations on this happy and historical occasion. We in Pakistan will watch your progress with the most friendly and sympathetic interest as some of the problems confronting your island are similar to ours. We have both suffered from exploitation at the hands of a foreign power and now that a new era has been ushered, we shall have to strive every nerve to improve the lot of the common man, so sadly neglected heretofore. The problem confronting us is by no means small or easy but we must tackle it boldly if we

are to prove ourselves worthy of our newly-won freedom and sovereign Government of the people.

"Ceylon is rich in material resources and talent and I have no doubt that under the guidance of her great leaders she will make rapid strides on the road to good government and prosperity and will play her rightful part in promoting goodwill and friendship throughout the world.

"Pakistan has the warmest goodwill towards Ceylon, and I am sanguine that the good feelings which exist between our two people will be further strengthened as the years roll by and our common interests, and mutual and reciprocal handling of them, will bring us into still closer friendship. Once again, I wish all prosperity and a glorious future to Ceylon."

The Pakistan Times, February 5, 1948.

1059

Speech at Sibi Durbar, Sibi, February 14, 1948.

"Mr. Dundas, Members of Shahi Jirga, Sardars of Baluchistan and other Leaders and Representative of the people of Baluchistan!

"It is indeed a matter of genuine pleasure to me to be present here amongst you in the first Shahi Durbar of Baluchistan held under the authority of our new Muslim State of Pakistan. As you all know, my personal connection with Baluchistan extends over a long period. I can now look back with satisfaction to the days when the people of this Province fought shoulder to shoulder with me in our struggle for freedom. You have contributed in no smaller measure than your brethern of other provinces of Pakistan towards the achievements of our goal.

"The history of political reforms for Baluchistan is connected with the history of the struggle of the Musalmans for freedom. There are many of you who will recall the number of occasions when I took up the cause of the people of Baluchistan both inside the Indian Legislature and outside; and, now that I have the honour to be the first Governor-General of our great country—Pakistan, it is natural that the question of reforms and securing for the people of Baluchistan an adequate say in the administration and governance of their Province, should be constantly in my mind. If in this direction my wishes have not so far been realized, it is due to the circumstances over which I had little or no control.

"Gentlemen! It is just six months since we have achieved our independence. During this period we have not so far seen a single day of peace. We have had to face calamities the parallel of which is not known in the history of the world. But we have not remained idle. We are still struggling to complete the task in the face of difficulties which we had no way of anticipating when the Partition of India was agreed upon. We have yet to secure our due and rightful share from the sister dominion of India. The attention of my Government, therefore, was kept riveted to other dangerous problems of more immediate and urgent importance. You will, therefore, forgive me if I was not able to attend to the affairs of Baluchistan as speedily as I would have wished. Let me assure you, however, that I have not for one moment allowed the affairs of Baluchistan to slip out of my mind. I have thought and thought, considered and pondered, over the ways and means of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other provinces as far as they could be brought about as practical propositions.

"Gentlemen! The relations of the old Government of India with Baluchistan before the Partition are well known to you. It is not for me to remind you how that Government which

was a subordinate branch of the foreign administration, had kept Baluchistan divided in several parts, each with a different name and status, yet all bound together in shackles of backwardness. The administration handed over to us was on the one hand quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people for moral and material progress, and on the other, impatient of criticism and oblivious of the necessity of political reforms of any sort. Consequently, the people of the Province remained in a static position educationally, socially, economically and politically. Nay, I would go so far as to say that the people had to content themselves for a long time with a state of political and administrative stagnation. And yet, all this may sound paradoxical in the face of fact that so far as the tribal areas of Baluchistan were concerned the Governor-General exercised his executive functions in his discretion, and in regard to the areas which used to be known as Brithish Baluchistan and leased territories, he governed to such an extent as he thought fit, through a Chief Commissioner appointed by him in his discretion.

"Then came the fruit of our national efforts in the form of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, whereby the British Government acknowledged the supreme authority of the people of this sub-continent and they were obliged to transfer full powers to them. With the passing of this Act, the treaties and agreements which were in force between the British Government and the states and tribes, all lapsed. The obligations of British Government and all powers, rights, authority, or jurisdiction, exercisable in relation to the tribal areas also disappeared. In other words, the tribal people were free to come to such arrangements with Pakistan as the successor authority of British Government, as may be agreed upon. Side by side with this, the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan was made a part of the territories of Pakistan as laid down by the Indian Independence Act, and the Province of Baluchistan accepted the position and decided to

send their elected representatives to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. It was in this state of freedom when, of their own free choice, the people of Tribal Areas gave their verdict, through the referendum held in this Province in the summer of last year when they decided to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. No sooner did this happen, than I, as Governor-General of Pakistan, felt it my duty to assure the people of Baluchistan on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, that all agreements and allowances would continue until such time as they could be modified after consultation with them.

"The departure of British authority had left several gaps in the juridical and administrative machinery of Baluchistan. These were filled by making temporary legal and administrative arrangements. The relations of the Government of Pakistan with the tribes were reaffirmed on the basis of the referendum until they could be consulted again. All this was arranged under powers vested in me as Governor-General of Pakistan deriving authority from the unmistakable will of the people of Baluchistan expressed through the Shahi Jirga. Orders were passed declaring that all laws that were in force in the administered areas, tribal areas, including the areas of Marri and Bugti, Tumans and Baluch areas adjoining the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab (which are not included in Baluchistan), would continue to be in force and all subsidies and allowances hitherto paid would continue to be enjoyed by them. I had to make these arrangements provisionally because the administration of the country had to go on. This did not mean that I wanted to perpetuate the state of affairs prevailing under the British Government. The final constitution, as you all know, will be framed by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with the representatives of all these areas. Nor did I forget, in the meantime, while making these temporary arrangements, my earnest desire to associate the people of Baluchistan with their own administration as far as possible. In fact it was in the fulfilment of this desire that I decided to attend your first

Durbar so that I may get the opportunity of meeting you and exchanging views with you in order to ascertain the ideas which you may have formed about the future form of Government for your Province.

"The Constituent Assembly may take some time to accomplish its task of framing the final constitution of our State. It is a stupendous task and it may take 18 months or two years before it can come into full operation. And so I wanted something to be done without delay for the period between now and the time when the new constitution would finally emerge and be inaugurated; something would enable the people to share the responsibilities of their Government and give them voice in its administration. After very careful consideration I have decided to make a small but all the same an important move immediately to enable the people to associate themselves with the governance of their province. I hope that this will bring the citizens of Pakistan living in Baluchistan closer to the Governor-General and the head of your administration. I had to think hard. There were legal and constitutional difficulties in the way of setting up a representative form of Government. But there was no time to waste. I did not want to wait for the requisite legal and statutory provisions to be enacted in their full form. All that will naturally come in time. For the present, however, I have come to the conclusion that our immediate object can best be achieved by making the governance and administration of Baluchistan more directly the concern of the Governor-General himself acting in close collaboration with the acknowledged representatives of the people. For this purpose, I have decided to constitute a Governor-General's Advisory Council, a body which will enable the people to play their full part in the administration and governance of their Province, and which will enable me as Governor-General to keep a close watch over the affairs of Baluchistan and to make the problems of the people of this great Province my own special care as I am bound to do under the present provisional constitiution of Pakistan. I may

here draw your attention that as a matter of fact the present Constitution—the Indian Independence Act and adaptations of Government of India Act, 1935—make the position of the Governor-General and his responsibilities clear. As regards the Chief Commissioner's Province, the adaptations which are in operation in the present Constitution, lay down:

> (1) that it shall be administered by the Governor-General acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner to be appointed by him in his discretion.
>
> (2) The executive authority of the Federation extends to British Baluchistan but notwithstanding anything in this Act, no Act of the Federal Legislature shall apply to British Baluchistan unless the Governor-General in his discretion by public notification so directs and the Governor-General in giving such a discretion with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall, in its applications to the Province, or to any specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit.
>
> (3) The Governor-General may, in his discretion, make regulations for the peace and good government of British Baluchistan, and any regulations so made may repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or any existing Indian law which is for the time being applicable to the Province and, when promulgated by the Governor-General, shall have the same force and effect as an Act of the Federal Legislature which applies to the Province.

"The members of the Advisory Council will of course be nominated but let me assure you gentlemen, that it will not be a nominal body. It will have the power to advise the Governor-General on any matter which in its opinion is connected with the good of the Province. Similarly, the Governor-General will refer

any matter which may come before him through the Chief Commissioner for the opinion and advice of the Council. The Budget of the Province, for instance, will be checked and scrutinized first by the Advisory Council in all its details and it will be free to submit its recommendations to the Governor-General.

"From what I have stated, you will see that I am only trying to make a beginning in giving the people of Baluchistan their due share in the administration and I am affording to them the opportunities to play full part in the shaping of their future administration and advancing the welfare of the people generally. For instance, all plans for the future political, economic, social and educational development of the Province will be prepared and submitted through the Advisory Council and it will be for the Governor-General to see that these plans are implemented with consultation and advice of the Council. Thus gentlemen, in some ways you will be better off than the other provinces of Pakistan. Here you will have in fact, a Governor-Genral's Province and you will become my special responsibility and care and let me assure that you, in the sphere of the activities of the Council, the Governor-General, will adopt such measures as may be necessary in consultation with his Advisory Council from time to time.

"The notification which is to issue on this subject will set out the functions and the scope of the Advisory Council as well as its composition. It will contain people's representatives of the Administered Areas which used to be known as British Baluchistan and the leased areas. It will include representative of the Tribal Areas. It will also reflect the considered opinion of the members of the Shahi Jirga and the Municipality of Quetta. In the creation of this Coucil, as you will observe, special care has been taken to ensure that power and authority is derived as far as possible from the people. At the same time, the setting up of the Advisory Council will not in any way detract from the status of these areas, nor from the freedom of the inhabitants of

these areas to mould their future constitution and to form the administration in accordance with their own customs and traditions. The setting up of the Council will in no way affect that measure of independence which is already enjoyed by the people of the Tribal areas nor can it change the present status of the leased areas. On the other hand, this new measure is intended to bring about a harmony of ideas between the Government and the people in the various areas of Baluchinstan and to make the Government machinery efficient and responsive to the people. It will impose upon the administration of Baluchistan the responsibility of marching in step with the wishes of its people and afford the people opportunities for sharing henceforth, with their Government the cares and responsibilities of the administration.

"I may point out that Baluchistan is a deficit province already to the extent of one crore and a half and Pakistan will have to bear a further financial burden to help the people as indicated above but I am hopeful that Pakistan will not hesitate to bear it for the sake of the progress and welfare of the people of Baluchistan.

"In proposing this scheme, I have had one underlying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that "our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations". I wish you, my brethren of Baluchistan, God speed and all success in the opening of this new era. May your future be as bright as I have always prayed for and wished it to be. May you all prosper." *Pakistan Zindabad* (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, February 15, 1948.

1060

Address to a gathering of the Civil Officers of Baluchistan of the rank of Naib-Tehsildars and above, Sibi, February 14, 1948.

"We have met here today without any distinction of being big or small, as servants of the State in order to think out ways and means of advancing the interests of the people and our country. From the highest to the lowest we all are servants of the State.

"Pakistan is now a sovereign State, absolute and unfettered and the Government of Pakistan is in the hands of the people. Until we finally frame our constitution which, of course, can only be done by the Constituent Assembly; our present provisional constitution based on the fundamental principles of democracy not bureaucracy or autocracy or dictatorship, must be worked. You officers shoud realize that these are the principles which should be borne in mind. You all know that we are starting from scratch. It is a terrific burden and if you want to make Pakistan a great country in the comity of nations, you must forget, as far as is possible, your pleasures and put in as much time and as much work as you can in the job which is entrusted to you.

The Governor-General added: "Work honestly and sincerely and be faithful and loyal to the Pakistan Government. I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness.

"Believe me, you will not only make Baluchistan great—I know there are great potentialities in Baluchistan—but you will also make a contribution to the whole of Pakistan and thus your State will not remain the fifth largest State in population only

but within five years it will become one of the mightiest State of the world.

"Now this is all in your hands. Look upon it as a sacred trust, redouble your energies and your determination and God willing, you are bound to succeed." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, February 15, 1948.

1061

Speech at a Press Conference, Sibi, February 14, 1948.

The Governor-General of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, said in reply to a question that he was not in favour of dictatorship.

The question was: "Why is Baluchistan being made into Governor-General's province under reforms announced by you at the *Durbar* yesterday and are you in favour of dictatorship?

The Governor-General's answer was: "I believe it will be better off that way. Things would be done far more quickly than in the usual process of full-fledged parliamentary discussions. But it does not mean that I am in favour of dictatorship.

"I take this as flattering to myself that my heart, my soul and my pulse ensure that I shall be very useful to Baluchistan in its present condition. There are two reasons for this proposed reform: (one) I want to help Baluchistan in every way I can; and (two) things will be done far more quickly.

The Governor-General stated that the other provinces in Pakistan had gone through all the preliminary stages of Parliamentary Governments. For Baluchistan, there was no other way in the present circumstances but to throw the whole burden on the Governor-General.

Asked regarding the constitution and scope of the proposed Advisory Council for Baluchistan, the Quid-i-Azam said: "The council will be nominated by the Governor-General, but he will not make it a nominal body. He will see that he makes it a really representative body.

Minority Representation

Replying to a question if the minorities would get representation on the Council, the Quaid-i-Azam said that he had made it clear in his address yesterday that every interest would by represented on the Council.

He parried the suggestion that the masses had no voice in the Province and would go unrepresented by saying that they had their voice but they were not sufficiently organized and were still in the elementary stage.

Kalat's Accession

Questioned as to what had transpired between him and the Khan of Kalat during their discussion in Sibi on the issue of the accession of Kalat State, the Governor-General declined to state the talks but he explained that the Khan of Kalat was to meet him in the evening on February 14, but owing to sudden indisposition, he was unable to do so.

The Quaid-i-Azam then read out a letter which he had received from the Khan of Kalat late last evening. The letter stated: "I have summoned both the houses of *Dar-ul-Awam* and *Dar-ul-Umra* to give me their final opinion on their future relations with the Dominion of Pakistan by the 21st or 22nd of this month and I shall be able to inform you, Quaid-i-Azam, of their considered opinion by the end of this month."

After reading the letter, the Quaind-i-Azam told the pressmen. "Under these circumstances, I shall wait for his final reply and I hope that he will send it to me definitely before the end of this month."

Kashmir Issue

Asked to express his views on the Kashmir issue, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "I cannot say anything on the Kashmir issue as UNO is dealing with the issue and anything in the circumstances might aggravate the situation. He said that as far as he could gather from the newspapers, the Pakistan delegation to the UNO was not returning." Asked if Karachi was being made into a separate federal province, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "It is decided that Karachi is going to be the capital of Pakistan and a committee has been appointed to consider other issues pertaining to Karachi."

The Civil & Military Gazette, February 17, 1948.

1062

Broadcast talk to the people of Australia, February 19, 1948.

"It is a common talk these days that the world grows smaller: its peoples know more about each other, and their interests are becoming increasingly interlocked. Yet, I wonder what the people of Australia know of Pakistan. Is it, I have been asking myself, more than a name to them? Is it merely an old and not quite comprehensible experiment by those unpredictable persons, the Asiatics? Well, today I am very glad to have the opportunity of telling you something about Pakistan and what it means to sixty-five million people.

"Pakistan is made up of two blocks of territory, one in the North-East and one in the North-West of the sub-continent of India. In the east, it is a land washed by great slow-moving rivers, and it is dependent for its prosperity largely on the monsoon rains. The west is a land of greater variety—of desert, of fertile irrigated plains, of mountains and valleys. The people are mostly simple folk, poor, not very well educated and with few

interests beyond the cultivation of their fields. As I say, they are poor; but they come of hardy, vigorous stock, and I think without boasting I can claim that they are brave. They make good soldiers, and have won renown in many battles. They have fought side by your side in two world wars.

"For the present, agriculture is our mainstay. With a population of about 22 per cent of what was formerly British India, Pakistan produces about 33 per cent of the total tonnage of rice and about 40 per cent of the total tonnage of wheat. In essential foods we are, therefore, comparatively fortunate. We also have some important commercial crops, such as jute, cotton and tobacco. The greater part of the world's jute is grown in East Bengal—and it gives us the great benefit of earning large sums of foreign exchange. Foreign exchange will be very valuable to us in setting up and expanding our industries.

"As yet we have very few big industries. I believe that at least one of the distinguished sons of Australia—I mean Mr. R. G. Casey—could tell you that our country offers immense opportunities for development and enrichment, and that we ourselves, the people, are restless to take advantage of them. For the present, however, we are short of capital and technical knowlege; but given a little time, and here and there a friendly hand, these deficiencies should be made good. In this matter of industrialization and capital development, we have no prejudices or false pride. We know our present weaknesses in these directions and we should certainly welcome any investment which would be likely to strengthen our economy. I do not believe that anyone from abroad who gives a helping hand would have reason to regret it.

"West Pakistan is separated from East Pakistan by about a thousand miles of the territory of India. The first question a student from abroad should ask himself is—how can this be? How can there be unity of government between areas so widely separated? I can answer this question in one word. It is "faith":

faith in Almighty God, in ourselves and in our destiny. But I can see that people who do not know us well might have difficulty in grasping the implications of so short an answer. Let me, for a moment, build up the background for you.

"The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in right, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.

"Not only are most of us Muslims but we have our own history, customs and traditions and those ways of thought, outlook and instinct which go to make up a sense of nationality. We have had a place in India for many centuries. At one time it was a supreme place. This was when the edict of the Moghuls ran from shore to shore. We look back on that period merely from historical point of view. Now we have got a comparatively small place—comparatively small although four times the size of England. It is ours and we are content with it. We have no aggressive designs upon our neighbours. We wish to live in peace and friendship, and to work out our destiny quietly in our own way and make our rightful contribution in the affairs of the world.

"Our people have not achieved their ambition to have a place of their own without great suffering. You will have read in the newspapers of the appalling events that have taken place in Northern India. To us, it is not a newspaper event: it is the suffering and life-blood of our kith and kin. None of us, whether we be of Pakistan or of India, can speak of it without the deepest grief. Men, women and children have been massacred in their

thousands—million are homeless. The trouble once having started, the people of both sides have hit back at each other, and I would hope that they are ashmed of it.

"I speak for my Government when I say that we have done everything in our power to hold in check the lawless spirit of revenge. It has not been easy, but I am truly thankful that we have succeeded in so large measure. Above everything else, we need peace and good-fellowship. Also, I would believe that I speak for every man of us in Pakistan when I say that our sufferings, terrible as they have been, have only strengthened us in our resolve to preserve our State and to count it as our greatest blessing. In my public speeches and in every sphere of the Government in which I have influence, I have emphasized and enjoined that Pakistan must not sit back and brood over its injuries. Our people must work—and work hard—to repair and enrich their country. We are determined to go ahead, and God willing, we shall succeed.

"In the setting up of our new State, I would expect a special understanding of our problems by the people of Australia. After all, it is not so long ago that your forebearers were breaking new ground, organizing the administration, scheming to develop the riches of the earth, safeguarding the future of you, their children, and, most important, achieving their sense of identity as Australians, which you have inherited. We are in much the same stage. Doubtless, we shall make mistakes—just, perhaps, as you have made mistakes. But just as you have succeeded, so too, we shall succeed.

"There is another reason why I think you should not regard Pakistan merely as another name on an already over-crowded map. Pakistan is in fact, a very important addition to the long line of Muslim countries through which your communications pass to the mediteranean and to Europe. We are naturally in very close association with these countries.

"There is, I would believe, a good measure of fellow-feeling between Muslims and the British people. It comes, perhaps from a practical way of thinking and an aversion from mere theorizing and sentiment. There are, of course, rubs and difficulties and misunderstanding now and then; but these are not so important as the friendship. Certainly we in Pakistan who know the British people well have nothing but good feelings in our hearts. In the somewhat electric atmosphere of the last decade we have said bitter things of them about British domination and their system of rule. That is now past and forgotten in the achievement of our freedom and establishment of Pakistan and in the friendly handshake and association of equal peoples.

"In this short talk, I hope that I have given you some impression of Pakistan, of our people, and what Pakistan means to all of us. It has been suggested to me that in conclusion I should send a greeting to the people of Australia. I do so gladly; and I can think of no better greeting than one which is traditional amongst us: "Assalam-o-Alaikum" which is, "may peace be on you. *Pakistan Zindabad.*"

The Pakistan Times, February 20, 1948.

1063

Address to officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments, Malir (Karachi), February 21, 1948.

Gentlemen!

"As I stated while addressing the Naval Officers and men the other day, the best way in which we can serve the cause of peace and the ideals of the United Nations Organisation is by making ourselves strong so that no power may dare harbour any

aggressive designs against us. We have won the battle for Pakistan's freedom but the grimmer battle for the preservation of that freedom and building it on a firmer and sounder basis is still in progress and that battle has to be fought to a successful conclusion if we are to survive as a great nation. Nature's inexorable law is 'the survival of the fittest' and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly-won freedom. You have fought many a battle on the far-flung battlefields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of manhood in your own native soil. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time for relaxation is not yet there. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve.

In this machine-age when the misdirected genius of man forges new engines of destruction everyday, you have to keep abreast of the times and keep your knowledge and equipment up to date—not because we have any evil designs against any of our neighbours but because our own security demands that we should not be caught unaware. There is nothing that we desire more than to live in peace and let others live in peace and develop our country according to our own lights without outside interference and improve the lot of the common man. This is no doubt going to be an uphill task but if we are determined to work earnestly and sincerely and are willing and ready to make sacrifices for the collective good of our nation, we shall soon achieve the aims and the end we have in view. *Pakistan Zindabad*"

The Civil & Military Gazette, February 22, 1948.

1064

Broadcast talk on Pakistan to the people of the United States of America, Karachi, February , 1948.

"It is a matter of great pleasure to me to give this broadcast talk to the people of the United States of America on Pakistan, its Government, its people and its resources. This Dominion which represents the fulfilment, in a certain measure, of the cherished goal of 100 million Muslims of this sub-continent, came into existence on August 15, 1947. Pakistan is the premier Islamic State and the fifth largest in the world. It is divided geographically into two parts, one representing Western Pakistan and the other Eastern Pakistan. A distance of more than a thousand miles separates these two main divisions. The area of Western Pakistan, comprising North-West Frontier Province, West Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan, is 1,79,000 square miles while the area of Eastern Pakistan consisting of Eastern Bengal and the District of Sylhet, is 54,000 square miles. Thus the total area of Pakistan is 2,33,100 square miles and its population is about 70 million.

"Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country, its two main food crops being wheat and rice. Rice is the staple food of Eastern and wheat of Western Pakistan. Western Pakistan is well served with a network of canals, both in West Punjab and Sind. Mention must be made here of the Lloyed Barrage irrigation works which have brought about 6 million acres of waste land under cultivation by harnessing the waters of the Indus. There is also a scheme of constructing two new barrages, one in Upper and the other in Lower Sind. When these are completed, it is hoped that the total area under cultivation in Sind would increase to 12 million acres.

"Among the other produce of Pakistan must be mentioned jute and cotton. The areas producing jute, fittingly

described as the golden fibre of Bengal, are now largely in Eastern Pakistan though the jute mill industry is mostly located in Calcutta and its suburbs in the Indian Dominion. According to the latest calculation, the area under jute in Pakistan is about 1-1/2 million acres and the yield of jute is estimated at over 4 million bales. Plans have already been drawn up for developing the jute trade in Pakistan and efforts are being made to import necessary plants for setting up jute mills in Eastern Pakistan.

"The position of cotton in Pakistan has recently much improved. The area of cotton under cultivation in 1944-45 in Western Pakistan was nearly 3 million acres, while the yield was about 1-1/4 million bales. The estimated value of cotton produced in Pakistan during 1946-47 comes to 450 million rupees. In the not very distant future, Pakistan's produce of cotton is expected to reach a much higher level.

"Tea and tobacco are also produced in Pakistan. In 1944, the area now under Pakistan in Eastern Bengal, under tea cultivation was 80, 000 acres.

Mineral Resources

"Nature has endowed Pakistan with tremendous mineral wealth which awaits exploitation and development. Coal, iron, petroleum, chromite, gypsum, salt, building materials, steatite and gold are found in Pakistan.

Development of Industries

"As I have said before, Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country with no large-scale industries. But the blue prints of a scheme for the rapid industrialization of both Western and Eastern Pakistan have already been drawn up by my Government. The Sind Government alone has formulated a scheme of industrialization which will cost about 130 million rupees and will take about four years to materialise. An initial sum of 25 million rupees for the development of special industrial areas in the province has already been sanctioned.

Other provinces in Pakistan are also engaged at present in preparing vast and comprehensive schemes of industrialization.

"There are two principal ports in Pakistan, namely Karachi and Chittagong. Besides its importance as the present capital of the Dominion of Pakistan, Karachi boasts of being one of the busiest airports in Asia.

"Chittagong is the main outlet for the trade and commerce of Eastern Pakistan and my Government are taking requisite steps for its further improvement and development.

Pattern of Constitution

"The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State—to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims—Hindus, Christian, and Parsis—but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.

Foreign Policy

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in

extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Naitons Charter.

During the last five months of its existence, Pakistan has had to face terrible trials and tribulations and to suffer tragedies which are almost without parallel in the history of mankind. We have, however, withstood these calamities with courage and fortitude. Through our perseverence, labour and sacrifice we will make Pakistan a great and powerful nation. Pakistan has come to stay and no power on earth can destroy it. *Pakistan Zindabad*"

1065

Reply to the speech made by the first Ambassador of the United States of America at the time of presenting credentials, Karachi, February 26, 1948.

Your Excellency!

"It gives me great pleasure to welcome you in our midst as the first Ambassador of the United States of America. Though Pakistan is a new State, for well over a century now there have been many connections of trade and commerce between the people of Pakistan and the people of the United States. This relationship was strengthened and made more direct and intimate during two World Wars and more particularly and more recently during the Second World War when our two people stood shoulder to shoulder in defence of democracy. The historic fight for self-government by your people and its achievement by them, the consistent teaching and practice of democracy in your country had for generations acted as a beacon light and had in no small measure served to give inspiration to

nations who like us were striving for independence and freedom from the shackles of foreign rule.

I cordially share your pleasure at the evidence of friendship and sympathy shown by your country in opening diplomatic relations with Pakistan from the very first day of its establishment as a new State. I would like to add that this friendship has been diligently and consistently furthered by your very able and esteemed colleague, Mr. Charles Lewis, the *Charge d'affaires* who represented your country here pending Your Excellency's arrival.

As you have discerned already our infant State has been confronted with grave and dangerous issues and problems from its early days. Though as a new State we have to face a serious situation, we have no doubt in our own minds that by our united will and determination to live as a free and peace-loving people, we shall overcome them successfully.

I thank Your Excellency for your friendly assurances of sympathy in dealing with our many problems. I also deeply appreciate your confidence that our traditions and our past will help us to fulfil the hopes and ideals of our people. In return I can assure Your Excellency that after having emerged from an eclipse which lasted over a century and a half, the people of Pakistan desire nothing which is not their own, nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world. We in Pakistan are determined that having won our long-lost freedom we will work to the utmost limit of our capacity not only to build up a strong and happy State of our own but to contribute in the fullest possible measure to international peace and prosperity. I am glad to learn that Your Excellency and the great country and people you represent, will give your co-operation to us in order to advance our economic and cultural relations for the mutual benefit of both the countries. I am hopeful that good relations and friendship already existing between the peoples of America and Pakistan will be further

strenghtened and the bonds of friendship between our two countries will be more firmly riveted. Your Excellency, I assure you that my Government and I will do all that lies in our power to give you every assistance in the fulfilment of what is our common desire and objective. I once more extend to Your Excellency a warm welcome to Pakistan as the first Ambassador of the United States of America.

The Pakistan Times, February 27, 1948.

1066

Reply to the speech made by the first Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan at the time of presenting credentials, Karachi, March 4, 1948.

Your Excellency!

"It gives me great pleasure to welcome you today as the first Turkish Ambassador to Pakistan. But my pleasure is enhanced as there is a unique significance about today's ceremony to the people of Pakistan for historical reasons. Your Excellency has yourself observed that many spiritual and sentimental ties born and grown in the course of a long history bind the people of Turkey to the people of Pakistan. Not only this but also by a turn of the world situation during the past 50 years or more, Turkey has been in our thoughts constantly and has drawn our admiration for the valour of your people and the way in which your statesmen and leaders have struggled and fought almost single-handed in the midst of Europe for your freedom and sovereignty which have been happily maintained.

"The exploits of your leaders in many a historic field of battle; the progress of your Revolution; the rise and career of the great Ataturk, his revitalization of your nation by his great statesmanship, courage and foresight—all these stirring events

are well known to the people of Pakistan. In fact, right from the very birth of political consciousness amongst the Muslims of this great sub-continent, the fortunes of your country were observed by us with deep sympathy and interest. I can, therefore, assure Your Excellency that the Muslims of Pakistan entertain sentiments of affection and esteem for your country, and now Turkey and Pakistan both as free, sovereign and independent countries, can strengthen their ties more and more for the good of both.

"We hope that with Your Excellency's assistance and co-operation we may be able to build up closer political and cultural ties with your State, and thus contribute our share to the attainment of peace and prosperity throughout the world.

"Finally, I extend a most cordial welcome to Your Excellency as the first Ambassador of Turkey to Pakistan—a welcome charged with the deepest affection born of historical and cultural ties and traditions of the past." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, March 5, 1948.

1067

Interview to Swiss Journalist, De Eric Streiff, special correspondent of the "Neue Zurcher Zeitung", Aurimh, Karachi, March 11, 1948.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in an interview given to a Swiss journalist, Mr. De Eric Streiff, special correspondent of the *Neue Zurcher Zeitung* in answer to the question whether there is any hope of India and Pakistan coming to a peaceful settlement of their own with regard to their differences and disputes on very vital and important matters, said: "Yes, provided the Indian Government will shed the

superiority complex and will deal with Pakistan on an equal footing and fully appreciate the realities."

To the question whether in international affairs Pakistan and India will work jointly and also join hands for the defence of their borders—both land and sea—and co-operate against any outside aggression, the Governor-General of Pakistan replied: "Personally I have no doubt in my mind that our own paramount interests demand that the Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India should co-ordinate for the purpose of playing their part in international affairs and the developments that may take place and also it is of vital importance to Pakistan and India as independent sovereign states to collaborate in a friendly way jointly to defend their frontiers both on land and sea against any aggression. But this depends entirely on whether Pakistan and India can resolve their own differences, if we can put our house in order internally, then we may be able to play a very great part externally in all international affairs."

To the question 'Is Pakistan going to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations?' Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah replied: "To begin with that is a matter for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to decide and secondly, it is obvious that it depends upon so many factors. We have to consider not one side of the business, but also see whether remaining in the Commonwealth of Nations will be as much to our advantage as to that of other sister nations in the Commonwealth."

The Pakistan Times, March 12, 1948.

1068

Speech at the meeting of the Pakistan Red Cross Society held at the Governor-General's House, Karachi, March 15, 1948.

"It gives me great pleasure indeed to welcome the members of the Governing Body of the Pakistan Red Cross Society and friends and sympathizers who are present here today. I thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to inaugurate this meeting and I am glad that you have given me the opportunity to do so. Many of the members of the governing body are new to Red Cross work and, therefore, I thought it appropriate that I should metion the objects to which the Funds of the Society can legally be applied. I have tried to gather such information as I could with regard to the origin and history of Red Cross which is replete with great sacrifices rendered by unselfish men and women who have done so much good to suffering humanity.

"The "Red Cross" had its origin at Geneva, almost directly as the result of an accidental visit made in 1859 to the battlefield of Solferino in Italy by a young man from Geneva, named Jean Henry Dunant. Dunant was deeply moved by the sufferings of the wounded and the groans of the dying. He wrote a book which made a great impression, and as a result of his enthusiastic efforts a non-official "Committee of Five" was founded in Geneva. In 1863, this Committee convened a semi-official conference which was attended by the representatives of sixteen different countries. Following the Conference the 'Committee of Five' became the "Genevese Committee for the Relief of Wounded Soldiers" and "National Aid Societies" were formed in a number of countries.

"A few months later, the Swiss Government called an official diplomatic conference which drew up the General Convention for the relief of sick and wounded in war. Sixty-three

nations eventually acceded to this Convention. The Conference also decided that all those who worked to relieve suffering in war and were, under this Convention, entitiled to protection, should adopt one distinctive emblem, irrespective of the country to which they belonged. They selected for that emblem, as a compliment towards the country in which the idea for international treaties for the protection of the defenceless victims of hostilities was born, the reverse of the Swiss flag, which is a white Cross on a red background. The emblem adopted by the Conference was, therefore, a Red Cross on a white background. It is generally recognized that this emblem should be universal to enable it to fulfil its mission to the greatest possible extent, especially on the battlefield, where the persons and institutions of the Armed Forces Medical Corps and of the Voluntary Aid Societies are, if under this distinctive emblem, protected against any enemy action by international conventions. Not less important is the symbolic value of the Red Cross in the field of international collaboration with the aim of mitigating the horrors of the War and ameliorating public health and public welfare.

"Switzerland is still the headquarters of the Red Cross Movement. The original "Committee of Five" has, since 1876, been known by the name of the "International Committee of the Red Cross" and is still a purely Swiss organization with an exclusively international activity. The members are all Swiss nationals. One of the chief functions of this Committee is, in time of war, to serve, either directly or through their delegates, as intermediaries between Governments and National Societies of the belligerent Powers, in all cases where their assistance is requested. They endeavour, by all means in their power, to promote in everyway the welfare of the victims of the war. The Committee takes over similar functions in time of civil war and internal troubles, offering to all parties concerned their services in order to mitigate human suffering. In peace time and in war time, the Committee is the guardian of the Geneva Convention

and the fundamental Red Cross principles and their distinctive emblem. That such an organization is an international necessity needs no emphasis. It is peculiarly appropriate that it should be located in Switzerland, as Swiss perpetual neutrality was guaranteed by the Powers in 1815 at the close of the wars of Napoleon and his neutrality has been respected ever since.

"I must explain that the International Committee of the Red Cross is not the governing body, although it is the body which has to approve the affiliation of National Red Cross Societies to the International Red Cross, the name adopted in 1928. The Red Cross Community comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies. This League was founded in 1919 on the proposal of the American Red Cross. It is a federation of National Red Cross Societies, created with a view to promoting Red Cross activities in peace time and to help the National Societies to perfect their organization, to develop public health and public welfare in the national and international fields. The League has a Board of Governors comprising one representative of each of the National Societies of the world. This Board meets every two years and its Exective Committee twice yearly. However, in war time it is often not possible to convene these sessions and the International Committee remains the only link between countries and their societies. No National Red Cross Society can be affiliated to the International Red Cross unless the country to which it belongs has acceded to the Geneva Convention regarding the care of the sick and wounded in war and the Convention regarding the treatment of prisoners of war. The Government of Pakistan have already communicated to Geneva their desire to adhere to these conventions.

"In so far as a governing body of the International Red Cross exists, it is the International Red Cross Conference. It is the supreme Assembly of the Red Cross and includes representatives of all National Societies of the Internatioal

Committee and of the League. Official representatives of the States signatory to the Geneva Conventions are also invited to the meetings and enjoy the right of vote. The International Conference passes resolutions on all questions concerning Red Cross policy in the international field. The Conference meets in principle every four years, except in times of world war, and in the intervals it is represented by a Standing Commission. The next meeting is to be held in Sweden this August. It will be an important one as a final meeting of several preliminary international meetings already held after the end of the Second World War. Its main task will be the revision of the Geneva Conventions concerning the treatment of the sick and wounded and prisoners of war and the protection of the defenceless civil population in war time. These conventions are ready in a draft based on experiences gained during the Second World War. The Conference will furthermore lay down the future Red Cross policy on the international field. Having the importance of this Conference in view, we hope to be able to send Delegates of the Pakistan Government and of the Pakistan Red Cross Society which has now been formed by the Pakistan Red Corss Society Order 1947 to this Conference to be held in Stockholm this year.

"It was in 1920 that an Indian Red Cross Society was formed. The Act was then passed "to constitute an Indian Red Cross Society and to vest in it the balance of the funds collectd for medical and other aid to the sick and wounded and other purposes of a like nature" during the 1914-18 war. This Act was adopted under the Pakistan "Adaptation of existing Pakistan laws" Order of 1947, to bring into being the Pakistan Red Cross Society. At the first meeting of the Governing Body of this new Society today you will, among other things, consider the division of the assets of the old Indian Red Cross Society between India and Pakistan.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, as will be clear from what I have told you, the aims of the Red Cross may be summarized under three heads:

(1) Promotion of health.

(2) Prevention of disease.

(3) Mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

"In war time the proper function of the Red Cross is of course care of the sick and wounded. In peace time the activity of the Organization lies chiefly in the field of:

(1) Supplementary work for existing organization concerned with the three aims which I have mentioned above; and

(2) Pioneering work to initiate social service in pursuance of those aims which might eventually be taken over by the Government or by local bodies.

"It is most appropriate that the Red Cross should have available emergency services to be ready in times of floods, famines or epidemics or any other calamity that may overwhelm any country to go to the relief of suffering humanity.

"The objects to which the funds of the Society may be applied, as laid down in the first schedule of Act XV of 1920 adapted for Pakistan, include:

(1) The care of the Sick and wounded men of Pakistan Forces, whether still on the active list or demobilized.

(2) The care of those suffering from tuberculosis, having regard in the first place to soldiers and sailors whether they have contracted the disease on active service or not.

(3) Child Welfare.

(4) Work parties to provide the necessary garments, etc., for hospitals and health institutions in need of them.

(5) Assistance required in all branches of nursing, health and welfare work, ancillary to any organizations

which have or may come into being in Pakistan and which are recognized by the Society.

(6) Home Service Ambulance Work.

(7) Provision of comforts and assistance to members of Pakistan Forces, whether on the active list or demobilized.

(8) Such other cognate objects as may, from time to time, be approved by the Society.

In India in the past, the main peace time activities of the Society have been:

(1) Maternity and Child Welfare Services.

(2) Training of Assistant Midwives.

(3) Providing amenities in Women's and Children's Hospitals.

(4) Supply of Ambulance Cars to Districts.

"Since Partition of the sub-continent of India into two dominions—Pakistan and India—such activities have been continued by the existing Branch Red Cross Societies in the Provinces of Pakistan. A fifth service with which our Society might well concern itself is the organization of Blood Banks; for there it would be the function of the Society to arrange for Panels for the whole country, to enlist donors, and to send vans around to collect them. The scope of the work which can be done by Provincial Branches under the guidance of the Governing Body is very wide indeed.

"There is also the Junior Red Cross, which has been organized by some of the Branch Societies in Pakistan, and operates in schools. The teachers are generally known as Patrons or Red Cross Links. Services rendered by the Junior Red Cross are concerned with:

(1) Organization of lectures;

(2) International correspondence between Members of the Junior Red Cross in one country and the Junior Red Cross in another, which has proved a potent force in promoting international understanding; and

(3) Helping in carrying messages and performance of similar services.

"It is clear from the history of the Red Cross as I have tried to outline it to you that National Red Cross Societies are not official bodies, although throughout the past 80 years they have been closely associated with national and diplomatic actions. Even when countries sever all connections with one another in war their Red Cross Societies still have a common link in the International Red Cross Society in neutral Switzerland. Today, it gives me great satisfaction to welcome among us a representative of the International Red Cross—Dr. Wenger, who has been in Pakistan for some weeks visiting refugee camps, advising upon methods of improvement in our relief work there, and investigating means by which the International Red Cross can give us aid.

"Indeed from the brotherhood of the International Red Cross much help has been forthcoming in Pakistan's hour of need.

"The Red Cross Society of Canada sent to us a valuable gift of penicillin, and the Canadian Trade Agent in Karachi received a donation of some Rs. 12,000 which he spent upon blankets for our refugees.

"The Australian Red Cross Society have informed us that it is proposed to ship blankets, woolen clothing, dressings and drugs worth sterling pound 6,000 to Pakistan; and from the same country a cash donation of about sterling pound 99 and warm clothing have been received for my Relief Fund.

"From the Turkish Red Crescent Society 75 bales of warm clothing have been sent for distribution in refugee camps.

"From the British Red Cross Society have come one complete hospital which is now functioning in Multan, 12 ambulance cars, two doctors from the United Kingdom and two engaged in Pakistan, a matron and three nursing sisters. Four more sisters are expected and a complete Casualty Clearing Station for 250 persons has recently arrived. From the same source during the last few months we have received supplies of milk, stores, and blankets apart from other aid of a substantial nature, and the services of Major General Sir Treffry Thompson, the Commissioner of the British Red Cross Society operating in Pakistan, whom I am gratified to see here today, are proving of the highest value to this country.

"By other countries also we have been given the most generous assistance, although not always, under the symbol of the Red Cross. From the Government of Iran came a gift of anticholera vaccine, and Switzerland, Holland and South Africa made offers of similar gifts. American voluntary Relief Agencies working through a Committee for emergency aid to India and Pakistan have sent drugs, medical stores, powdered milk, cereals, blankets and warm clothing in large quantities. Fourteen different ships have brought these sorely needed gifts. Doctors and nurses have also come, and Mobile Medical Units of the Christian Committee for Relief in West Pakistan, composed of mixed American, British and Indian Christian personnel have done splendid work. How much all this has meant to our refugees, everyone here, will realize. It was inspiring to know that these, our friends, were working under most difficult conditions to supplement our own organizations while Muslim ladies came forward enthusiastically in hundreds to help their sick and injured brothers and sisters in a spirit of sympathy and sacrifice.

"Among the doctors who, inspired by a high ideal of service, have come from abroad to work in an honorary capacity in our refugee camps, I must mention Doctor Holland, son of Sir Henry Holland, an honoured member of our Governing Body who has given long years of his life to the people of this land, and who is leaving us within a few days. Our good wishes go with him in his retirement. I would also mention Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, a businessman of Newcastle-on-Tyne who brought three British doctors for honorary service in Pakistan.

"Ladies and Gentlemen! magnificent contributions to the common cause, such as those to which I have just referred, are assuredly a most faithful interpretation of the noble spirit of the Red Cross.

"So, now that Pakistan Red Cross Society has been established by us, it will, I hope, play its full and destined part in the service of humanity along with other bodies and organizations in the international field to afford all possible relief and help to the suffering and distressed people wherever possible."

The Pakistan Times, March 16, 1948.

1069

Speech at the Ceremonial Army Parade at Kurmitolla Airport, March 20, 1948.

Officers and men!

"I thank you for the honour you have done me in giving me the salute. I shall always remember this opportunity that has been afforded to me.

"You know that Pakistan had to start from scratch. East Bengal is one of its most powerful components and you have got now an opportunity which you have not had for, may I say, two

centuries or more. Bengal, generally, in which of course, East Bengal was included where happens to be the largest Muslim population, was considered as negligible in quality and quantity, for military purposes. The martial spirit of Bengal is historically known, and specially the part the Muslims played in the history of the past Bengal. That martial spirit, like many other great qualities was oppressed, suppressed and the martial spirit was dead—with a sort of damper put on—and in Bengal we got to a point when, as I said, Bengal did not count for military purposes. Now, in free Pakistan which is going to be a great nation, one of the largest in the world, you have under sovereign, independent, free Pakistan, every opportunity to revive your martial spirit and show to the world what Bengal can do, It is in your hands. I am sure, you realize that yours is the responsibility for the security and the defence of the State, and I am confident, you will not fail but serve it loyally and faithfully, ready to die for its security and defence. I thank you."

The Pakistan Times, March 21, 1948.

1070

Statement replying to various points raised by the deputation of the Scheduled Caste Federation, Dacca, March 21, 1948.

"We stand by our declarations that members of every community will be treated as citizens of Pakistan with equal rights and privileges and obligations and that the minorities will be safeguarded and protected.

He added: "But you must have a little patience and give us time to make the effort to give effect to those declarations. I assure you of our goodwill and solicitude for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes in particular, as you have been downtrodden

for centuries, deserve more help than any other community. I have always advocated your cause and I shall continue to do so.

In regard to their proposal that two Scheduled Caste Ministers should be included in the East Bengal Ministry, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "It is not that we are against including the Scheduled Castes in the Ministry, but the present position of the Scheduled Castes in the Assembly is that you have only five members who follow you out of 19. We are after all working on the lines of democracy and if we were to take one of those five, it would neither be good for you nor for the East Bengal Ministry, because it will at once be said, as far as we are concerned, that was only a creature of the Bengal Prime Minister who had picked him up, whereas he did not enjoy the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the Scheduled Caste members of the Assembly. This has been one of the difficulties in our way for which we ourselves are most anxious for a solution." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, March 24, 1948.

1071

Speech at a public meeting, Dacca, March 21, 1948.

Assalam-o-Alaikum! Assalam-o-Alaikum! Assalam-o-Alaikum!

"I am grateful to the people of this Province and, through you, Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, to the people of Dacca, for the great welcome that they have accorded to me. I need hardly say that it gives me the greatest pleasure to visit East Bengal. East Bengal is the most important component of Pakistan, inhabited as it is by the largest single bloc of Muslims in the world. I have been anxious to pay this Province an early visit, but unfortunately, other matters of greater importance had so far prevented me from doing so.

"About some of these important matters you doubtless know. You know, for instance, of the cataclysm that shook the Punjab immediately after Partition, and of the millions of Muslims who in consequence were uprooted from their homes in East Punjab, Delhi and neighbouring districts and had to be protected, sheltered and fed pending rehabilitation in Western Pakistan. Never throughout history was a new State called upon to face such tremendous problems. Never throughout history has a new state handled them with such competence and courage. Our enemies had hoped to kill Pakistan at its inception. Pakistan has, on the contrary, arisen triumphant and stronger than ever. It has come to stay, and play its great role for which it is destined.

"In your Address of Welcome you have stressed the importance of developing the great agricultural and industrial resources of this Province, of providing facilities for the training of the young men and women of this Province for entering the Armed Forces of Pakistan, of the development of the Port of Chittagong and of communications between this Province and other parts of Pakistan, of development of educational facilities and finally you have stressed the importance of ensuring that the citizens of Eastern Pakistan get their due and legitimate share in all spheres of Government activity. Let me at once assure you that my Government attaches the greatest importance to these matters and is anxiously and constantly engaged in ensuring that Eastern Pakistan attains its full stature with the maximum of speed. Of the martial prowess of the people of this Province, history provides ample evidence and, as you are aware, Government have already taken energetic steps to provide facilities for the training of the youth of this Province both in the regular Armed Forces and as volunteers in the Pakistan National Guards. You may rest assured that the fullest provision shall be made for enabling the youth of this Province to play its part in the defence of this State.

"Let me now turn to some general matters concerning this Province. In doing so, let me first congratulate you, the people of this Province and your Government, over the manner in which you have conducted yourselves during these seven months of trials and tribulations. Your Government and loyal, hardworking officials deserve to be congratulated on the speed and efficiency with which it succeeded building up an ordered administration out of the chaos and confusion which prevailed immediately after Partition. On the 15th August, the Provincial Government in Dacca was a fugitive in its own home. It was faced with the immediate problem of finding accomodation for thousands of Government personnel in what was, after all, before Partition only a small mofussil town. Hardly had Government got to grips with administrative problems thus created when some seventy thousand Railway and other personnel and their families suddenly arrived in this Province, driven out of India partly by panic owing to the disturbances immediately following the Partition. There were further, owing to the wholesale departure of Hindu personnel, great gaps left in the administrative machinery and the entire transport and communication system had been disorganized. The immediate task that faced the Government, therefore, was hurriedly to regroup its forces and reorganize its administrative machine in order to avert an imminent administrative collapse.

"This the Government did with extraordinary speed and efficiency. The administration continued to function unhampered, and the life of the community continued undisturbed. Not only was the administration speedily reorganized but the great adminisrative shortages were quickly made good, so that an impending famine was averted, and what is equally important, peace was maintained throughout the Province. In this latter respect, much credit is due also to the people of this Province, in particular to the members of the majority community, who showed exemplary calm and determination to maintain peace despite the great provocation

afforded by the massacre and oppression of the Muslims in the Indian Dominion in the months immediately after Partition. Despite those horrible happenings, some forty thousand processions were taken out by the Hindu community during the last *Puja* in this Province without a single instance of the breach of peace, and without any molestation from the Muslims of this Province.

"Any impartial observer will agree with me that throughout these troubles the minorities were looked after and protected in Pakistan better than anywhere else in India. You will agree that Paksitan was able to keep peace and maintain law and order; and let me tell you that the minorities not only here in Dacca but throughout Pakistan are more secure, more safe than anywhere else. We have made it clear that the Pakistan Government will not allow peace to be disturbed; Pakistan will maintain law and order at any cost; and it will not allow any kind of mob rule. It is necessary to draw attention to these facts, namely, the building up of an orderly administration, the averting of an imminent famine and the maintenance of the supply of food to some forty million people in this Province at a time of overall food shortage and serious administrative difficulties, and the maintenance of peace, because there is a tendency to ignore these achievements of the Government and to take these things for granted.

"It is always easy to criticize; it is always easy to go on fault-finding, but people forget the things that are being done and are going to be done for them, and generally they take those for granted without even realizing as to what trials, tribulations, difficulties and dangers we had to face at the birth of Pakistan. I do not think that your administration is perfect, far from it; I do not say that there is no room for improvement; I do not say that honest criticism from true Pakistanis is unwelcome. It is always welcome. But when I find in some quarters nothing but complaint, fault-finding and not a word of recognition as to the work that has been done either by your Government or by those

loyal officials and officers who have been working for you day and night, it naturally pains me. Therefore, at least say some good word for the good that is done, and then complain and criticize. In a large administration, it is obvious that mistakes must be made; you cannot expect that it should be faultless; no country in the world can be so. But our ambition and our desire is that it should be as little defective as possible. Our desire is to make it more efficient, more beneficial, more smooth working. For what? What has the Government got for its aim? The Government can only have for its aim one objective—how to serve the people, how to devise ways and means of their welfare, for their betterment. What other object can the Government have and, remember, now it is in your hands to put the Government in power or remove the Government from power; you must learn the art to use it; you must try and understand the machinery. Constitutionally, it is in your hands to upset one Government and put another Government in power if you are dissatisfied to such an extent.

"Therefore, the whole thing is in your hands, but I advise you strongly to have patience and to support the men who are at the helm of your Government, sympathize with them, try and understand their troubles and their difficulties just as they should try and understand your grievances and complaints and sufferings. It is by that co-operation and that good spirit and goodwill that you will be able not only to preserve Pakistan which we have achieved but also make it a great State in the world. Are you now, after having achieved Pakistan, going to destroy it by your own folly? Do you want to build it up? Well then for that purpose there is one essential condition, and it is this—complete unity and solidarity amongst ourselves.

"But I want to tell you that in our midst there are people financed by foreign agencies who are intent on creating disruption. Their object is to disrupt and sabotage Pakistan. I want you to be on your guard; I want you to be vigilant and not to be taken in by attractive slogans and catchwords. They say

that the Pakistan Government and the East Bengal Government are out to destroy your language. A bigger falsehood was never uttered by a man. Quite frankly and openly I must tell you that you have got amongst you a few communists and other agents financed by foreign help and if you are not careful, you will be disrupted. The idea that East Bengal should be brought back into the Indian Union is not given up, and it is their aim yet, and I am confident—I am not afraid, but it is better to be vigilant—that those people who still dream of getting back East Bengal into the Indian Union are living in a dream-land.

"I am told that there has been some exodus of the Hindu community from this Province. I have seen the magnitude of this exodus put at the fantastic figure of ten lakhs in the Indian Press. Official estimates would not put the figure beyond two lakhs at the utmost. In any case, I am satisfied that such exodus as has taken place has been the result not of any ill-treatment of the minority communities. On the other hand, the minority communities have enjoyed, and rightly so, greater freedom, and have been shown greater solicitude for their welfare than the minorities in any part of the Indian Dominion.

"The causes of this exodus are to be found rather in the loose talk by some war-mongering leaders in the Indian Dominion of the inevitability of war between Pakistan and India; in the ill-teatment of the minorities in some of the Indian provinces and the fear among the minorities of the likely repercussions of that ill-treatment here, and in the open encouragement to Hindus to leave this Province being sedulously given by a section of the Indian Press, producing imaginary accounts of what it calls the plight of the minorities in Pakistan, and by the Hindu Mahasabha. All this propaganda and accusations about the ill-treatment of the minorities stand belied by the fact that over twelve million non-Muslims continue to live in this province in peace and have refused to migrate from here.

"Let me take this opportunity of repeating what I have already said: we shall treat the minorities in Pakistan fairly and justly. Their lives and property in Pakistan are far more secure and protected than in India and we shall maintain peace, law and order and protect and safeguard fully every citizen of Pakistan without distinction of caste, creed or community.

"So far so good. Let me now turn to some of the less satisfactory features of the conditions in this Province. There is a certain feeling, I am told, in some parts of this Province, against non-Bengali Muslims. There has also lately been a certain amount of excitement over the question whether Bengali or Urdu shall be the State language of this Province and of Pakistan. In this latter connection, I hear that some discreditable attempts have been made by political opportunists to make a tool of the student community in Dacca to embarrass the administration.

"My young friends, students who are present here, let me tell you as one who has always had love and affection for you, who has served you for ten years faithfully and loyally, let me give you this word of warning: you will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one political party or other. Remember, there has been a revolutionary change. It is our own Government. We are free, independent and sovereign State. Let us behave and regulate our affairs as free men; we are not suppressed and oppressed under the regime of a foreign domination; we have broken those chains, we have thrown off those shackles. My young friends, I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan, do not be exploited and do not be misled. Create amongst yourselves complete unity and solidarity. Set an example of what youth can do. Your main occupation should be—in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the State—to devote your attention to your studies. If you fritter away your energies now, you will always regret. After you leave the portals of your universities and colleges then you can play your part freely and help yourself

and the State. Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan and your Province in particular as I have done already. Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism.

"As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanize yourself into a real true nation. What we want is not to talk about Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi, Pathan and so on. They are of course units. But I ask you: have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago? If I may point out, you are all outsiders here. Who were the original inhabitants of Bengal—not those who are now living. So what is the use of saying "we are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabis". No we are Muslims.

"Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a Nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a Nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism—Shia, Sunni, etc.

"It was no concern of our predecessor Government; it was no concern of theirs to worry about it; they were here to carry on the administration, maintain law and order and to carry on their trade and exploit India as much as they could. But now we are in different position altogether. Now I give you an example. Take America. When it threw off British rule and

declared itself independent, how many nations were there? It had many races: Spaniards, French, Germans, Italians, English, Dutch and many more. Well, there they were. They had many difficulties. But mind you, their nations were actually in existence and they were great nations, whereas you had nothing. You have got Pakistan only now. But there a Frenchman could say 'I am a Frenchman and belong to a great nation', and so on. But what happened? They understood and they realized their difficulties because they had sense, and within a very short time they solved their problems and destroyed all this sectionalism, and they were able to speak not as a German or a Frenchman or an Englishman or a Spaniard, but as Americans. They spoke in this spirit: 'I am an American' and 'we are Americans'. And so you should think, live and act in terms that your country is Pakistan and you are a Pakistani.

"Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve. Please do not think that I do not appreciate the position. Very often it becomes a vicious circle. When you speak to a Bengali, he says: 'Yes you are right but the Punjabi is so arrogant'; when you speak to the Punjabi or non-Bengali, he says 'Yes, but these people do not want us here, they want to get us out'. Now this is a vicious circle, and I do not think anybody can solve this Chinese puzzle. The question is, who is going to be more sensible, more practical, more statesman-like and will be rendering the greatest service to Pakistan? So make up your mind and from today put an end to this sectionalism.

"About language, as I have already said, this is in order to create disruption amongst the Musalmans. Your Prime Minister has rightly pointed this out in a recent statement and I am glad that his Government have decided to put down firmly any attempt to disturb the peace of this Province by political saboteurs or their agents. Whether Bengali shall be the official

language of this Province is a matter for the elected representatives of the people of this Province to decide. I have no doubt that this question shall be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of this Province at the appropriate time.

"Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed so far as your Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this Province, to decide what shall be the language of your Province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State Language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Any one who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State Language is concerned, Pakistan's language shall be Urdu. But as I have said, it will come in time.

"I tell you once again, do not fall into the trap of those who are the enemies of Pakistan. Unfortunately, you have fifth-columnists—and I am sorry to say they are Muslims—who are financed by outsiders. But they are making a great mistake. We tolerate the enemies of Pakistan; we are not going to tolerate quislings and fifth-columnists in our State, and if this is not stopped, I am confident that your Government and the Pakistan Government will take the strongest measures and deal with them ruthlessly, because they are a poison. I can quite understand differences of views. Very often it is said, "why cannot we have this party or that party"? Now let me tell you, and I hope you will agree with me. that we have as a result of unceasing effort and struggle ultimately achieved Pakistan after ten years. It is the Muslim League which has done it. There were of course many Musalmans who were indifferent; some were afraid, because they had vested interests and they thought they might lose; some sold themselves to the enemy and worked against us, but we struggled and we fought and by the grace of

God and with His help we have established Pakistan which has stunned the world.

"Now this is a sacred trust in your hands, *i.e.*, the Muslim League. Is this sacred trust to be guarded by us as the real custodians of the welfare of our country and our people, or not? Are mushroom parties led by men of doubtful past to be started to destroy what we have achieved or capture what we have secured? I ask you one question. Do you believe in Pakistan? (Cries of yes, yes). Do you want East Bengal or any part of Pakistan to go into the Indian Union? (No, no). Well, if you are going to serve Pakistan, then I say that the honest course open to every Muslaman is to join the Muslim League Party and serve Pakistan to the best of his ability. Any other mushroom parties that are started at present will be looked upon with suspicion becuse of their past, not that we have any feeling of malice, ill-will, or revenge. Honest change is welcome, but the present emergency requires that every Musalman should come under the banner of the Muslim League, which is the true custodian of Pakistan, and build it up and make it a great State before we think of parties amongst ourselves which may be formed later on sound and healthy lines.

"Just one thing more. Do not feel isolated. Many people have spoken to me that East Bengal feels isolated from the rest of Pakistan. No doubt there is a great distance separating the East from the West Pakistan; no doubt there are difficulties, but I tell you that we fully know and realize the importance of Dacca and East Bengal. I have only come here for a week or ten days this time, but in order to discharge my duty as the Head of the State I may have to come here and stay for days, for weeks, and similarly the Pakistan Ministers must establish closer contact. They should come here and your leaders and members of your Government should go to Karachi which is the capital of Pakistan. But you must have patience. With your help and with your support we will make Pakistan a mighty State.

Finally, let me appeal to you—keep together, put up with inconveniences, sufferings and sacrifices, for the collective good of our people. No amount of trouble, no amount of hard work or sacrifice is too much or to be shirked if you individually and collectively make contribution for the collective good of your Nation and your State. It is in that way that you will build up Paksitan as the fifth largest state in the world not only in population as it is but also in strength, so that it will command the respect of all the other nations of the world. With these words I wish you God speed. *Pakistan Zindabad* "

The Pakistan Times, March 23, 1948.

1072

Statement replying to a deputation of the Hindu members of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, Dacca, March 22, 1948.

"I do not for a moment suggest that in the discharge of their duties the various departements of the Government could not do better. I should say that there is room for improvement in various directions. But in order to achieve that object, the last course is that the Hindus should in spirit and action whole-heartedly co-operate with the Government and its various branches of administration as Pakistanis, and if this spirit is created, it will be easy for the Government to discharge its functions smoothly.

He asked them to fully realize the fact that the Governments of East Bengal and Pakistan were now their own Governments. He assured them that the object of the Government was to do its utmost for the welfare and happiness of the people. It was up to the people who had any grievances or complaints to approach the Government and ask for redress, instead of carrying on unnecessary propaganda which helped to create confusion in the press.

Concluding, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "All these matters to which you have drawn my attention are primarily the responsibility of the Provincial Government. I cannot possibly go into all this and sit in judgment over the administration by hearing your version only, nor have I got time during this short visit to do so. I will, however, pass on your representation to the Prime Minister for his consideration."

The Pakistan Times, March 23, 1948.

1073

Speech at the Dacca University Convocation, Dacca, March 24, 1948.

"Mr. Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen!

"When I was approached by your Vice-Chancellor with a request to deliver the convocation address, I made it clear to him that there were so many calls on me that I could not possibly prepare a formal convocation address on an academic level with regard to the great subjects with which this University deals, such as arts, history, philosophy, science, law and so on. I did, however, promise to say a few words to the students on this occasion, and it is in fulfilment of that promise that I will address you now.

"First of all, let me thank the Vice-Chancellor for the flattering terms in which he referred to me. Mr. Vice-Chancellor, whatever I am, and whatever I have been able to do, I have done it merely as a measure of duty which is incumbent upon every Musalman to serve his people honestly and selflessly.

"In addressing you I am not speaking here to you as Head of the State, but as a friend, and as one who has always held you in affection. Many of you have today got your diplomas and degrees and I congratulate you. Just as you have won the laurels in your University and qualified yourselves, so I wish you

all success in the wider and larger world that you will enter. Many of you have come to the end of your scholastic career and stand at the threshold of life. Unlike your predecessors, you fortunately leave this University to enter life under a sovereign, independent State of your own. It is necessary that you and your other fellow students fully understand the implications of the revolutionary change that took place on the birth of Pakistan. We have broken the shackles of slavery, we are now a free people. Our State is our own State. Our Government is our own Government of the people, responsible to the people of the State and working for the good of the State. Freedom, however, does not mean licence. It does not mean that you can now behave just as you please and do what you like irrespective of the interests of other people or of the State. A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation. What is now required of us all is constructive spirit and not the militant spirit of the days when we were fighting for our freedom. It is far more difficult to construct than to have a militant spirit for the attainment of freedom. It is easier to go to jail or fight for freedom than to run a Government. Let me tell you something of the difficulties that we have overcome and of the dangers that still lie ahead. Thwarted in their desire to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, our enemies turned their attention to finding ways and means to weaken and destroy us. Thus, hardly had the new State come into being when came the Punjab and Delhi holocaust. Thousands of men, women and children were mercilessly butchered and millions were uprooted from their homes. Over fifty lakhs of these arrived in the Punjab within a matter of weeks. The care and rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees, stricken in body and in soul, presented problems which might well have destroyed many a well-established State. But those of our enemies who had hoped to kill Pakistan at its very inception by these means were disappointed. Not only has Pakistan survived the shock of that

upheaval, but it has emerged stronger, more chastened and better equipped than ever.

"There followed in rapid succession other difficulties, such as withholding by India of our cash balances, of our share of military equipment and lately, the institution of an almost complete economic blockade of your Province. I have no doubt that all right-thinking men in the Indian Dominion deplore these happenings and I am sure the attitude of the mind that has been responsible for them will change, but it is essential that you should take note of these developments. They stress the importance of continued vigilance on our part. Of late, the attack on your Province, particularly, has taken a subtler form. Our enemies, among whom I regret to say, there are still some Muslims, have set about actively encouraging provincialism in the hope of weakening Pakistan and thereby facilitating the reabsorption of this Province into the Indian Dominion. Those who are playing this game are living in a fool's paradise, but this does not prevent them from trying. A flood of false propaganda is being daily put forth with the object of undermining the solidarity of the Musalmans of this State and inciting the people to commit acts of lawlessness. The recent language controversy, in which I am sorry to make note, some of you allowed yourselves to get involved even after your Prime Minister had clarified the position, is only one of the many subtle ways whereby the poison of provincialism is being sedulously injected into this Province. Does it not strike you rather odd that certain sections of the Indian Press to whom the very name of Pakistan is anathema, should in the matter of language controversy, set themselves up as the champion of what they call your "just rights"? Is it not significant that the very persons who in the past have betrayed the Musalmans or fought against Pakistan, which is after all merely the embodiment of your fundamental right of self-determination, should now suddenly pose as the saviours of your just rights and incite you to defy the Government on the question of language? I must warn you to beware of these fifth-

columnists. Let me restate my views on the question of a State language for Pakistan. For official use in this Province, the people of the Province can choose any language they wish. This question will be decided solely in accordance with the wishs of the people of this Province alone, as freely expressed through their accredited representatives at the appropriate time and after full and dispassionate consideration. There can, however, be only one *lingua franca*, that is, the language for inter-communication between the various provinces of the State, and that language should be Urdu and cannot be any other. The State language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent, a language undrstood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language, embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries. It is not without significance that Urdu has been driven out of the Indian Union and that even the official use of the Urdu script has been disallowed. These facts are fully known to the people who are trying to exploit the language controversy in order to stir up trouble. There was no justification for agitation but it did not suit their purpose to admit this. Their sole object in exploiting this controversy is to create a split among the Muslims of this State, as indeed they have made no secret of their efforts to incite hatred against non-Bengali Musalmans. Realizing, however, that the statement that your Prime Minister made on the language controversy, on return from Karanchi, left no room for agitation, is so far as it conceded the right of the people of this Province to choose Bengali as their official language if they so wished, these persons changed their tactics. They started demanding that Bengali should be the State language of the Pakistan Centre and since they could not overlook the obvious claims of Urdu as the official language of a Muslim State, they proceeded to demand that both Bengali and Urdu should be the State languages of Pakistan. Make no mistake about it. There

can be only one State language, if the component parts of this State are to march forward in unison, and that language, in my opinion, can only be Urdu. I have spoken at some length on this subject so as to warn you of the kind of tactics adopted by the enemies of Pakistan and certain opportunist politicians to try to disrupt this state or to discredit the Government. Those of you who are about to enter life, be on your guard against these people. Those of you who have still to continue your studies for sometime, do not allow yourselves to be exploited by any political party or self-seeking politician. As I said the other day, your main occupation should be in fairness to yourselves, in fairness to your parents and indeed, in fairness to the State, to devote your attention solely to your studies. It is only thus that you can equip yourselves for the battle of life that lies ahead of you. Only thus will you be an asset and a source of strength and of pride to your State. Only thus, can you assist it in solving the great social and economic problems that confront it and enable it to reach its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world.

"My young friends, I would, therefore, like to tell you a few points about which you should be vigilant and beware. Firstly, beware of the fifth-columnists among ourselves. Secondly, guard against and weed out selfish people who only wish to exploit you so that they may swim. Thirdly, learn to judge who are really true and really honest and unselfish servants of the State who wish to serve the people with heart and soul and support them. Fourthly, consolidate the Muslim League Party which will serve and build up a really and truly great and glorious Pakistan. Fifthly, the Muslims League has won and established Pakistan and it is the Muslim League whose duty it is now, as custodian of the sacred trust, to construct Pakistan. Sixthly, there may be many who did not lift their little fingers to help us in our struggle, nay even opposed us and put every obstacle in our great struggle openly and not a few worked in our enemy's camp against us, who may now come

forward and put their own attractive slogans, catch-words, ideals and programmes before you. But they have yet to prove their bonafides or that there has really been an honest change of heart in them, by supporting and joining the League and working and pressing their views within the League Party organization and not by starting mushroom parties, at this juncture of very great and grave emergency when you know that we are facing external dangers and are called upon to deal with internal complex problems of a far-reaching character affecting the future of seventy million of people. All this demands complete solidarity, unity and discipline. I assure you "Divided you fall, United you stand".

"There is another matter that I would like to refer to. My young friends, hitherto, you have been following the rut. You get your degrees and when you are thrown out of this University in thousands, all that you think and hanker for is Government service. As your Vice-Chancellor has rightly stated the main object of the old system of education and the system of Government existing, hitherto, was really to have well-equipped clerks. Of course, some of them went higher and found their level, but the whole idea was to get well-qualified clerks. Civil Service was mainly staffed by the Britons and the Indian element was introduced later on and it went up progressively. Well, the whole principle was to create a mentality, a psychology, a state of mind, that an average man, when he passed his B.A. or M.A. was to look for some job in Government. If he had it he thought he had reached his height. I know and you all know what has been really the result of this. Our experience has shown that an M.A. earns less than a taxi driver and most of the so-called Government servants are living in a more miserable manner than many menial servants who are employed by well-to-do people. Now I want you to get out of that rut and that mentality and specially now that we are in free Pakistan. Government cannot absorb thousands. Impossible. But in the competition to get Government service most of you

get demoralized. Government can take only a certain number and the rest cannot settle down to anything else and being disgruntled are always ready to be exploited by persons who have their own axes to grind. Now I want that you must divert your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you and will increasingly become so. There is no shame in doing manual work and labour. There is an imemnse scope in technical education for we want technically qualified people very badly. You can learn banking, commerce, trade, law, etc; which provide so many opportunities now. Already you find that new industries are being started, new banks, new insurance companies, new commercial firms are opening and they will grow as you go on. Now these are avenues and fields open to you. Think of them and divert your attention to them, and believe me, you will thereby benefit yourselves more than by merely going in for Government service and remaining there, in what I should say, circle of clerkship, working there from morning till evening, in most dingy and uncomfortable conditions. You will be far more happy and far more prosperous with far more opportunities to rise if you take to commerce and industry and will thus be helping not only yourselves but also your State. I can give you one instance. I know a young man who was in Government service. Four years ago he went into a banking corporation on two hundred rupees, because he had studied the subject of banking and today he is Mangaer in one of their firms and drawing fifteen hundred rupees a month—in just four years. These are the opportunities to have and I do impress upon you now to think in these terms.

"Finally, I thank you again Mr. Chancellor and particularly you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for the warm welcome you have given me and the very flattering references made by you. I hope, nay I am confident that the East Bengal youth will not fail us." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, March 25-26, 1948.

1074

Address to the Gazetted Officers, Chittagong, March 25, 1948.

"I thank you for giving me this opportunity to see you collectively. My time is very limited and so it was not possible for me to see you individually. I have told you two things. I have already said what I had to say to the Gazetted Officers at Dacca. I hope you should read an account of what I said there in the newspapers. If you have not I would request you to take the trouble of reading what I said there. One cannot say something new everyday. I have been making so many speeches and I expect each one of you to know my views by now.

"Ladies and gentlemen! I want you to realize fully the deep implications of the revolutionary change that has taken place. Whatever community, caste or creed you belong to, you are now the servants of Pakistan. Servants can only do their duties and discharge their responsibilities by serving. Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's Government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices. Under these fundamental changes I would put before you two or three points for your consideration:

(1) "You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this political or that political party; that is not your business. It is a business of politicians to fight out their case under the present constitution or the future constitution that may be ultimately framed. You, therefore, have nothing to do with this party or that party. You are civil servants. Whichever gets the majority will form the Government and your duty is to serve that Government for the time being as servants not as politicians. How will you do that? The Government in power for the time being must also realize and understand their responsibilities that you

are not to be used for this party or that. I know we are saddled with old legacy, old mentality, old psychology and it haunts our footsteps, but it is up to you now to act as true servants of the people even at the risk of any Minister or Ministry trying to interfere with you in the discharge of your duties as civil servants. I hope it will not be so but even if some of you have to suffer as a victim—I hope it will not happen—I expect you to do so readily. We shall of course see that there is security for you and safeguards to you. If we find that is in any way prejudicial to your interest we shall find ways and means of giving you that security. Of course you must be loyal to the Government that is in power.

(2) "The second point is that of your conduct and dealings with the people in various departments, in which you may be: wipe off that past reputation; you are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fair-play. If you do that, people will have confidence and trust in you and will look upon you as friends and well-wishers. I do not want to condemn everything of the past, there were men who did their duties according to their lights in the service in which they were placed. As administrators they did justice in many cases but they did not feel that justice was done to them because there was an order of superiority and they were held at a distance and they did not feel the warmth but they felt a freezing atmosphere when they had to do anything with the officials. Now that freezing atmosphere must go; that impression of arrogance must go; that impression that you are rulers must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and to try to understand the people. May be sometimes you will find that it is trying and provoking

when a man goes on talking and repeating a thing over and over again, but have patience and show patience and make them feel that justice has been done to them.

Next thing that I would like to impress upon you is this:

"I keep on getting representations and memorials containing grievances of the people of all sorts of things. May be there is no justification, may be there is no foundation for that, may be that they are under wrong impression and may be they are misled but in all such cases I have followed one practice for many years which is this: Whether I agree with anyone or not, whether I think that he has any imaginary grievances whether I think that he does not understand but I always show patience. If you will also do the same in your dealings with an individual or any association or any organization you will ultimately stand to gain. Let not people leave you with this bearing that you hate, that you are offensive, that you have insulted or that you are rude to them. Not one per cent who comes in contact with you should be left in that state of mind. You may not be able to agree with him but do not let him go with this feeling that you are offensive or that you are discourteous. If you will follow that rule believe me you will win the respect of the people.

"With these observations I conclude what I had to say. I thank you very much indeed that you have given me this opportunity to say these few words to you and if you find anything good in it follow, if you do not find anything good in it do not follow.

Thank you very much."

The Pakistan Times, March 26, 1948.

1075

Message to the Pakistan Medical Association, Dacca, March 26, 1948.

"I have learnt with great interest that the Pakistan Medical Association has been formed and is going to be inaugurated on Saturday, March 27, 1948, in Dacca. This Association, I hope, will serve earnestly to organize the medical profession in Pakistan on a high level befitting our State. It can render many services if it is well-organized and efficient. For example, it can help to speed up medical relief of which we stand in very great need indeed at present It will also keep medical and social contact with similar interests in other parts of the world for exchange of views and ideas from time to time, and thereby establish better understanding in solving medical problems peculiar to various countries and Pakistan.

I wish Pakistan Medical Association all success."

The Pakistan Times, March 27, 1948.

1076

Speech at the public reception, Chittagong, March 26, 1948.

"I am grateful to you all for the warm welcome which you have accorded me on this my first visit to a city destined to be one of the biggest in Pakistan as a whole. On my part I am glad to be in your midst and I need hardly assure you that not only are your problems being dealt with steadily and progressively but that unhindered by difficulties and obstacles we are determined to make good the neglect of centuries in course of the next few years when Chittagong will rank as one of the finest ports in the world.

"You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphazies equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system. This domination continued for over two hundred years until we realized that it would ultimately mean complete extinction of Musalmans individually as human beings and collectively as a nation. After all, the story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement is the story of great human ideals struggling to survive in the face of odds and difficulties This biggest Muslim State came into being on 15th August, 1947. It was a great day in our history. But on this great day, it was not merely a Government which came into existence, it meant the birth of a great State and a great nation—one supplementing the other and both existing for each other. I can understand and appreciate the limitations of those amongst us whose minds have not moved fast enough to realize that 15th of August ushered in such a State and such a Nation. It is natural for some to think only in terms of Government, but the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces, the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and of our Nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes

of the brith of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State. I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanizing not only the State but also the Nation.

"Such mental and spiritual changes cannot be brought about over-night. Nor can these be inflicted by anybody without dislocating the structure of human relationships.

"Today, your State is hardly eight months old. But if we look back and review this short span of our national life, we can clearly see the steady evolution of great ideologies and balanced relations between man and man. Any impartial observer will admit that in fact it has already been admitted that the minorities in Pakistan have had a better deal than elsewhere. Here in our midst they have lived not only peacefully but have enjoyed complete liberty of asserting themselves. Some have even given a lead in controversies which, but for the realization on the part of our people, might have struck at the very root of Pakistan in an hour of grave emergency.

"This—our single biggest achievement—alone reflects the direction in which we are moving. There cannot be any better evidence to show that we are determined to evolve a State based on principles of equality and social justice. If we can be fair and just to others there can be no doubt about being fair and just among ourselves.

"The address of welcome which you have just presented refreshingly embodies your urge for progress and development. It is indeed a pleasure to see that the people of Pakistan are conscious of the great possibilities of their State—though I must warn you that impatience will be as dangerous as lack of enthusiasm. Chittagong is destined to be great and you, as her citizens, are destined to share her greatness and prosperity. I can assure you that the Central and Provincial Governments are

endeavouring hard to catch up on years of indifference and neglect. Notwithstanding the inevitable pre-occupation of your Central Government with grave and emergent problems which confronted them in Western Pakistan which was called upon to shelter, house and rehabilitate millions of your brethren uprooted from the Indian Union, blue prints for developing Chittagong have been got ready. This potentially great port has been neglected for centuries alongwith other similar areas in Pakistan regions and you know that such neglect and indifference has constituted the biggest single justification for our demand for Pakistan. Accordingly, now that we are free to shape our future, we are not going to be indifferent to it. We need not look back to the past of neglect with pessimism. All that is required is courage and faith in our future, and I am glad to say, that such faith has not been found lacking during the last eight months.

"I need hardly remind you that due to the determination of the people of Pakistan and the efforts made by your Government, Chittagong as a port is already coming into its own. During the last few months, ships of various nationalities, whose ensigns fly colourfully along your roads today, have harboured in your port, some for the first time in history to take your raw products to their countries for manufacture into finished products. Chittagong is already handling a fair portion of your export and import trade. This has been possible mainly due to the efforts of us all to decrease our dependence on others.

"This achievement in such a short time shows what human will can do. Funds are no doubt necessary for development but at the same time national growth and regeneration do not depend on funds alone. It is human toil that makes for the prosperity of a people and I have no doubt that we have in Pakistan a nation of industrious and determined people whose past traditions have already distinguished them in the field of human achievement.

"I have frankly and clearly associated myself with your aspirations for developing your city of which you are justly proud. Your urge for progress and your Government's efforts to reach the goal will soon get translated in the shape of large-scale projects which I am satisfied are being actively pursued. The most important scheme which concerns you vitally, and which is at present under active examination, is the harnessing of Karnaphuli river to control floods and silt, to irrigate fields and to develop cheap hydro-electric power. The necessary preliminary work is being expedited and the project is on our top priority list. I might tell you that one of the reasons which prompted me to visit East Pakistan at this juncture, when Western Pakistan particularly is passing through a period of grave emergency, was to see for myself the progress made in respect of developing your city which can now look forward to a future of great maritime importance.

"While at Chittagong, I have spent the major portion of my time in studying the possibilities of port development and I am confident that in course of the next years, Chittagong will not only be a port of embarkation for *Hajis* from East Pakistan but also an export and import centre for what we can spare for the world and for what we need from other countries. Chittagong is destined to be the Eastern mighty queen and gateway of Pakistan, your will to progress, labour and work and your Government's efforts to hit targets of progress aimed at, will, I am sure, do it.

"Nature has endowed you bountifully. Yours is a beautiful garden land with sea, rivers and hills and magnificent scenery all-round. It remains now for man in Chittagong to play his part fully and raise Chittagong to zenith for which it is destined. So I wish you God speed. *Pakistan Zindabad*"

The Pakistan Times, March 28, 1948.

1077

Broadcast speech from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, March 28, 1948.

"During the past nine days that I have spent in your Province, I have been studying your local conditions and some of the problems that confront East Bengal. Tonight, on the eve of my departure, I want to place before you some of my impressions. Before I do this, however, let me first cordially thank you for the great warmth and affection with which you have received me everywhere in your midst during my stay here.

"From the administrative point of view, East Bengal perhaps more than any other province of Pakistan, has had to face the most difficult problems as a result of Partition. Before August 15, it existed merely as an hinterland to Calcutta, to whose prosperity it greatly contributed but which it did not share. On August 15, Dacca was merely a mofussil town, having none of the complex facilities and amenities which are essential for the capital of a modern Government. Further, owing to Partition, the Province's transport system had been thrown completely out of gear and the administrative machinery seriously disorganized at a time when the country was threatened with a serious food shortage. The new Province of East Bengal thus came into being in the most unfavourable circumstances which might easily have proved fatal to a less determined and less tenacious people. That the administration not only survived but even emerged stronger from such setbacks as the Chittagong cyclone, is a striking tribute both to the sterling character of the people as well as to the unremitting zeal of the Government of the Province. The position now is that the initial difficulties have to great extent been overcome and, though there is no ground for complacency, there are at least reasons for quiet confidence in the future. Though now undeveloped, East Bengal possesses vast potentialities of raw materials and hydro-electric power. In Chittagong you have the

makings of a first-class port which in time should rank among the finest ports in the world. Given peaceful conditions and the fullest co-operation from all sections of the people, we shall make this Province the most prosperous in Pakistan.

"It is a matter for congratulation that despite the massacre and persecution of Muslims in the Indian Dominion in the months immediately following Partition, peaceful conditions have throughout prevailed in this Province, and I have seen the minority community going about its normal day-to-day avocation in perfect security. Some migration of Hindus to the Indian Dominion there unfortunately has been, though the estimates mentioned in the Indian Press are ridiculous.; I am satisfied, at any rate, that whatever movement there has been, has not in any way been due to their treatment here, which under the circumstances has been exemplary, but rather to psychological reasons and external pressure. Indian leaders and a section of the Indian Press have indulged freely in war-mongering talks against Pakistan. There has been persistently insidious propaganda by parties like the Hindu Mahasabha in favour of an exchange of population: and disturbances in the Indian Dominion, in which Muslims have been persecuted, have not unnaturally given rise to fears in the mind of the minority community lest unpleasant repercussions sould occur in East Bengal, even though such apprehensions have no foundation for they have been belied by actual facts. Over and above all these factors, the recent declaration by the Indian Dominion on Pakistan as a foreign country for customs and other purposes has involved the Hindu Business community in serious economic difficulties and brought pressure to bear on many Hindu businessmen to remove their business to the Indian Dominion. I find that the provincial Government have repeatedly given assurances and have at all times taken whatever steps were possible for the protection and well-being of the minority community and have done their best to dissuade

them from leaving their ancestral homes in East Bengal for an unknown fate in the Indian Union.

"I would like now to offer a word of advice to the people of this Province. I notice a regrettable tendency on the part of a certain section of the people to regard their newly-won freedom, not as liberty with the great opportunities it opens up and the heavy responsibilites it imposes, but as licence. It is true that, with the removal of foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any Government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. The Government and its policy may be changed by the votes of the elected representatives of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Not only that, but no Government worthy of the name can for a moment tolerate such gangsterism and mob rule from reckless and irresponsible people, but must deal with it firmly by all the means at its disposal. I am thinking particularly of the language controversy which has caused quite unnecessary excitement and trouble in certain quarters in this Province and if not checked it might lead to serious consequences. What should be the offical language of this Province is for your representatives to decide.

"But this language controversy is really only one aspect of a bigger problem—that of provincialism. I am sure you must realize that in a newly formed State like Pakistan, consisting moreover as it does of two widely separated parts, cohesion and solidarity amongst all its citizens, from whatever part they may come, is essential for its progress, nay for its very survival. Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity we, as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve. If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis etc, first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate. Do not think that this is some abstruse proposition:

our enemies are fully alive to its possibilities which I must warn you they are already busy exploiting. I would ask you plainly, when political agencies and organs of the Indian press, which fought tooth and nail to prevent the creation of Pakistan, are suddenly found with a tender conscience for what they call the 'just claims' of the Muslims of East Bengal, do you not consider this a most sinister phenomenon? Is it not perfectly obvious that, having failed to prevent the Muslims from achieving Pakistan, these agencies are now trying to disrupt Pakistan from within by insidous propaganda aimed at setting brother Muslim against brother Muslim? That is why I want you to be on your guard against this poison of provincialism that our enemies wish to inject into our State. There are great tasks to be accomplished and great dangers to be overcome: overcome them we certainly shall but we shall do so much quicker if our solidarity remains unimpaired and if our determination to march forward as a single united nation remains unshaken. This is the only way in which we can raise Pakistan rapidly and surely to its proper, worthy place in the comity of nations.

"Here I would like to address a word to the women of Eastern Pakistan. In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity, women have a most valuable part to play, as the prime architects of the character of the youth that constitutes its backbone, not merely in their own homes but by helping their less fortunate sisters outside in that great task. I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty.

"Finally, I would address a special word to Government servants, both Central and Provincial—that great body of pioneers, many of whom have been working under very difficult conditions in this Province. Yours is a great responsibility. You must ensure that this Province is given, not merely the ordinary

routine services that you are bound to perform, but rather the very last ounce of selfless endeavour that you are capable of producing for your State. In the great task of building up this State, you have a magnificent opportunity. You must continue to face the future, handle your jobs with the same courage, confidence and determination as you have so far displayed. Above all, do not allow yourselves to be made the pawns of mischievious propagandists and self-seeking agitators who are out to exploit both you and the difficulties with which a new State is inevitably faced. The Government of Pakistan and the Provincial Government have been anxiously devising ways and means whereby your housing and other difficulties, inescapable in a period of such rapid transition, may be relieved and I trust that these difficulties will soon disappear. You owe it to the great State to which you belong, to the people whom you serve and, indeed, to yourself not to be daunted by any difficulties, but to press on and go forward and maintain sustained efforts with single-minded devotion. Pakistan has a great future ahead of it. It is now for us to take the fullest advantage of what nature has so abundantly provided us with and build up a glorious and mighty State. *Pakistan Zindabad*"

The Pakistan Times, March 29, 1948.

1078

Speech on the occasion of the presentation of new Pakistan coins and currency notes by the Finance Minister, Karachi, April 1, 1948.

"I thank you Mr. Finance Minister for the honour you have done me by presenting the first Pakistan coins and notes to me today. I take this opportunity of publicly expressing the appreciation of the Government and people of Pakistan of the way in which you and your Ministry have handled the finances of our young State and your untiring zeal to put them on a

sound footing. When we first raised our demand for a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan there were not a few false prophets who tried to deflect us from our set purpose by saying that Pakistan was not economically feasible. They painted extremely dark pictures of the future of our State and its financial and economic soundness. The very first budget presented by you must have caused a shock to those false prophets. It has already demonstrated the soundness of Pakistan's finances and the determination of its Government to make them more and more sound and strong. Although it has meant the tightening of our belts, to a certain extent, but I am sure that the people of Pakistan will not mind making sacrifices in order to make our State in the near future really a strong and stable State so that we can handle more effectively and with ease our programme, specially for the uplift of the masses. I have no doubt in my mind about the bright future that awaits Pakistan when its vast resources of men and material are fully mobilized. The road that we may have to travel may be somewhat uphill at present but with courage and determination we mean to achieve our objective which is to build up and construct a strong and prosperous Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 2, 1948.

1079

Interview with members of Iranian Goodwill Mission, Karachi, April 10, 1948.

In an interview with Messrs Masoodi, Faramarzi and Malaki of Iranian Goodwill Mission, the Quaid-i-Azam ascribed the visit of this mission as a third gesture by Iran to establish cordial and friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries; the first two being, generous contributions by the Iranis to the Quaid-Azam Relief Fund and exchange of diplomatic representatives. The Quaid-i-Azam also emphasized

the need for harmony, unity of purpose and complete understanding among all the people of Asia, particularly of the Muslims, as that would be a great contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 11, 1948.

1080

Speech in reply to the address of the French Ambassador M. Leon Marshall, Karachi, April 9, 1948.

Your Excellency!

"It has given me great pleasure to welcome you today in your capacity as the first Ambassador of the Republic of France to Paksitan. With your appointment, the relationship between our two countries assumes a closer and more intimate form and I hope and trust that this will presage the most cordial and friendly co-operation between our two countries.

"The magnificent history of your great country and its achievements are well-known to the world. In common with other nations, we in Pakistan have admired the high principles of democracy that form the basis of your great State.

"The cry of liberty, fraternity and equality which was raised during your great revolution and officially adopted by your great Republic had its repercussions throughout the world, as is known to every student of history. These ideals and these principles are still keeping up the hopes of many downtrodden nations.

"As Your Excellency has yourself observed, the traditions (and may I add the culture) of Pakistan, as the youngest of the free Muslim countries of the world, has been inherited from a long past—a past which, in view of the manifold

contacts is well-known and familiar to the Government and people of France.

Long Contact

"Indeed, in view of this long contact of France with the Muslim world, the people of France and Pakistan are not strangers to one another. I hope and trust that with this background of intimate contact between our two peoples, and in particular with Your Excellency's knowledge of our brother Muslim countries your appointment will inaugurate a new era which, I hope, will lead to closer friendship between France and Paksitan.

"I assure Your Excellecny that we in Pakistan will give you our support and co-operation which you may require in promoting relationship of goodwill and friendship between our two countries and I trust that in the result, Pakistan and France will unitedly play their part in re-establishing peace and prosperity in the present distracted world.

"Once again, Your Excellency, I assure you of a warm and friendly welcome to Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 10, 1948.

1081

Speech in reply to the address presented by the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar, April 12, 1948.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

"I am indeed very happy to be present here today and to have the privilege of meeting and addressing the students of this great *Dar-ul-Ulum*, who are the future builders of Pakistan.

"On this occasion the thought that is naturally uppermost in my mind is the support and help that the movement for the achievement of Pakistan received from the student community, particularly of this Province. I cannot help feeling that the unequivocal and unmistakable decision of the people of this Province to join Pakistan, which was given through the referendum held last year, was helped considerably by the contribution made by the students. I take particular pride in the fact that the people of this Province have never and in no way lagged behind in the struggle for freedom and achievement of Paksitan.

"Now that we have achieved our national goal, you will expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be; namely one of the greatest States in the world. The first thing you should do is to learn to appreciate the difference in the approach to the problems with which we are faced now, in contrast with those which were facing us when we were struggling for our independence. During our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan we were critical of the Government which was a foreign Government and which we wanted to replace by a Government of our own. In doing so we had to sacrifice many things including the academic careers of our younger generation. May I say that you played your part magnificently. Now that you have achieved your goal that is, a Government of your own, and a country which belongs to you and in which you can live as free men, your responsibilities and your approach to the political, social and economic problems must also change. The duties required of you now are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background. You must devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State. You must learn to obey for only then you can learn to command. In your criticism of the

Government you must learn to be constructive. Government welcomes constructive criticism. You can make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity. Remember that your Government is like your garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement. Similarly, your Government can flourish by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve it.

"I am not making any particular reference to you but now that I have had the opportunity of talking to you I must warn you not to allow your actions to be guided by ill-digested information or slogans and catch-words. Do not take them to heart or repeat them parrot-like. Take advantage of your period of training that this institution offers you, by equipping yourself to become leaders of the future generation. There is a common fault with the students against which I must warn you. The students believe that no one can tell them anything which they do not already know. That mentality is harmful and often leads to quite a lot of mischief. But if you want to learn by your own experience, and not by the experience of your elders, let me tell you that as you become older, you will be more ready to learn from your costly experience and the knocks that you shall have received during your life-time, which will harm you more than anybody else.

"I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism. You must learn to distinguish between your love for your Province and your love and duty to the State as a whole. Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism. It demands a broader sense of vision, and greater sense of patriotism. Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good. Our duty to the State comes first; our duty to our Province, to our district, to our town

and to our village and ourselves comes next. Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World. We therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanise and weld us all into one united and strong nation. That is the only way in which we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives.

"You have referred to the question of a Khyber university. Let me tell you that nothing is nearer to my heart than to have a great centre of culture and learning in a place like Peshawar, a place from where the rays of knowledge and culture can spread throughout the Middle East and Central Asia. I, therefore, fully sympathize with your aspirations in this behalf and, provided you go the right way about it, perhaps you will get your university sooner than you can imagine.

"Finally, I would earnestly advise you to think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers of the people, and with absolute loyalty to Pakistan.

"Remember, you must have patience. Rome was not built in a day. Time factor, therefore, is essential. You must trust in your Government and I assure you that they are fully alive to the needs of the people, and particularly the masses who require special attention. Give them full chance and opportunity. The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God Who determines the destinies of peoples and nations.

"I thank you once more for the honour that you have done me today. I wish you every happiness and success. *Pakistan Zindabad*"

"There is one thing which I am sorry to say I missed to refer in my written speech. My young friends you must now fully realize the vital change, the fundamental change that has taken place. You are not now merely to confine youselves to becoming Government servants which was the avenue to which most of you aspired. You must now realize that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are now being thrown open to you where you have unlimited opportunities, namely, you must now direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance industry and technical education.

"You must be reading newspapers and knowing how Pakistan is moving fast in creating various institutions of the kind I have mentioned. Many of you do not know how fast it is going, but it is going very fast and as we go on, these institutions will multiply. Those are the avenues, those are the channels where you can do well to yourselves and also serve the nation better than as clerks. I want to impress upon those who are responsible for the education of our young boys that they must concentrate and direct all energies in this direction.

"You do not know what is waiting for you. I give one instance to illustrate. I know one young man who took a Government job as usual after he had completed his university career. He was a B. Com. and had some training in the commercial system. He was very happy to get a job in a Governemt department on Rs. 150 p.m. He was quite happy because an average B.A. does not get more than a tongawala or a taxiwala. He was very happy. He would not have received more than few hundreds even after 25 years service. But suddenly somebody picked him up and got him in his bank and straightaway he was given Rs. 500 p.m. Now today, that is, four years after, let me tell you, that he is drawing Rs. 1,500 p.m.—Rs.1,500 he would have never received till the time he died. Now, therefore, I once more impress upon you to direct your minds to these channels.

"One thing more I would like to say that there is some impression that the public is kept away from me. This you may call the Government's management or the State visit of mine. I want this impression to be removed. I want to make it clear that the public is absolutely free to do what they like, provided they maintain discipline, whereas the public gets so excited that they break every rule and every arrangement in their enthusiasm and regard for me. But that does no good to anybody and it is dangerous. Therefore, I wish that everyone will impress upon the people especially my young friends to line up if they want to see me. You can by all means come and see me with full freedom, but line up properly, keep order and maintain discipline so that I can comfortably pass as the object is that I should see you and you should see me.

"Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour you have done me today." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 13, 1943.

1082

Message to the first Pakistan Olympic Games, Peshawar, April 12, 1948.

"For sound minds we should have sound bodies and that is why nations the world over attach so much importance to body-building and physical culture. The first Pakistan Olympic Games should act as an incentive to all Pakistan nationals to emulate the Olympic Motto *"Citius, Altius, Fortius" i.e.* "Faster, Higher and Stronger". I wish the organizers of the games and all competitors the best of luck. Build up Pakistan higher, firmer and stronger."

The Pakistan Times, April 13, 1948.

1083

Speech to the Royal Pakistan Air Force, Station Risalpur, April 13, 1948.

"It gives me great pleasure to pay my first visit to a unit of the Royal Pakistan Air Force. There is no doubt that any country without a strong Air Force is at the mercy of any aggressor. Pakistan must build up her Air Force as quickly as possible. It must be an efficient Air Force second to none and must take its right place with the Army and the Navy in securing Pakistan's defence.

"I am well aware of air developments in other countries and my Government is determined that the Royal Pakistan Air Force will not lag behind.

"The Royal Pakistan Air Force has started with very few assets except loyalty and determination to succeed. But the Royal Pakistan Air Force is already taking shape; this school formed only 7 months ago is a worthy example of this.

"I know you are short of personnel but I understand recruitment is brisk and good material is coming forward. To fill up the gaps in the meantime the Royal Air Force volunteers are coming forward and are welcome.

"I know also that you are short of aircraft and equipment but efforts are being made to procure the necessary equipment and orders for modern aircraft have also been placed.

"But aircraft and personnel in any numbers are of little use, unless there is a team spirit within the Air Force and a strict sense of discipline prevails. I charge you to remember that only with discipline and self-reliance can the Royal Pakistan Air Force be worthy of Pakistan.

"I am pleased to learn of the progress which this School has made and as desired by the Air Commander and yourselves I name it from today "The Pakistan Air Force College." I thank

you all and I wish your School and yourselves all success." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 14, 1948.

1084

Address to officers and men of 3rd Armoured Brigade, Risalpur, April 13, 1948.

"I am pleased to have visited you today at your Headquarters. "Risalpur", as the name indicates, has been the home of Cavalry for a long time. For centuries Cavalry has been regarded as the "*Corps d'elite*" of every nation. Although you have now changed your mounts or these awe-inspiring machines—the tanks, your persevernce, patience, coolness and dash that had to be displayed by a cavalier, must still remain your guiding light.

"Your Brigade is the only one of its kind in the Pakistan Army, infact, in the whole of Muslim World. This unique distinction that you enjoy is a befitting compliment to the biggest Muslim State.

"Your victories and achievements in World War II are too well-known for me to recount. Your Brigade invariably formed the spearhead of the fourteenth Army's advance from Manipur Road to Rangoon, and the privilege of continuing to wear the famous Fourteenth Army badge by your Brigade is befitting of your deeds.

"Since the establishment of Pakistan almost every unit of this Brigade has been reformed, and within this short period of 8 months you have knit yourself into a formidable team. All this happened while you were continuously being called upon to perform multifarious duties, such as evacuating millions of stranded Muslims from the Eastern Punjab and States, and maintaining law and order within your own borders. This is a

great achievement in itself and can only be attributed to the high morale, integrity, selfless devotion to duty and loyalty. I have no doubt that you will always be prepared to take on any hazardous duty which you may be called upon to perform.

"Lastly, I would like to mention how pleased I am to see this formation which is fully equipped and trained to fight with up-to-date and modern instruments. This is indicative of a nation's fitness to take an equal place with other big nations of the world." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, April 14, 1948.

1085

Address to Officers and Men of Pakistan Armoured Corps Centre, Naushera, April 13, 1948.

Officers and men!

"As you know on Partition all Armoured Corps training establishments were in India. We were left with absolutely no training establishment for Armoured Corps. Literally, we in Pakistan had to start from scratch in this particular field. And it was very essential to take steps to open a Pakistan training establishment as soon as possible so that the intake of recruits should not be held up and their training should continue with as little break as possible and courses could be run for regiments. But unfortunately, considerable delay was caused owing to the impossibility of moving the Pakistan element from India until October, and I am glad to say it is due to the untiring efforts of all of you that, in such a short space of time, the Centre is now functioning fully in all departments.

"Cavalry has always been the spearhead of the Army. This is no less true in these days of mechanization than it was in the days of horses. To carry out their role, Cavalry must have the very best in officers and men. Whether they do in fact attain

this level depends very largely on you. You produce the recruit and turn him out as a trained soldier. You train officers and men in all the latest developments of your arm of the service. Upon this training and teaching depends the efficiency of the Armoured Corps as a whole.

"Those of you who are on the Staff of the Centre, make up your minds that there is always room of improvement, and much depends upon your efforts.

"Those of you, who are under training, determine always to do your best to take the fullest advantage of your opportunities here.

"There are many of you on parade today who have come here before going on pension or release. Your Army service is completed and you have given the best years of your life to the service of your country. Your country is grateful. Many of you may not wish to go—but it is unavoidable. After all great wars it is necessary to reduce the Army to its peace time strength and all cannot remain.

"Remember that you have learned much of the world and of the duties of a good citizenship in the Army. You can continue to serve your country in your homes by spreading this knowledge and by the examples of your way of living.

"There are many among you who are refugees from India. You are uncertain of the future for yourself and for your families. I can assure you that this problem is receiving the most earnest attention of the Government and that no efforts are being spared in endeavouring to arrange for your resettlement. I am glad to know that this Centre contributed the sum of Rs. 4,516 to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund which is giving much aid in this work.

"Do not forget *espirit de corps*—pride in your Regiment, pride in the Corps as a whole, and pride in and devotion to your country—Pakistan. Pakistan depends on you and puts her faith

in you as defenders of your country. Be worthy of her. This Army was built up and made its reputation due to the devotion and bravery of your fathers and grand-fathers. Make up your minds to be worthy sons.

"You have started well and have accomplished much. Continue as you have started and all will be well with the Pakistan Armoured Corps." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, April 14, 1948.

1086

Informal talk to Civil Officers at Government House, Peshawar, April 14, 1948.

"The reason why I wanted to meet you is that I wanted to say few words to you, who are occupying very important position in the administration of Pakitan in this Province.

"The first thing that I want to tell you is this, that you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed, Governments are defeated, Prime Ministers come and go. Ministers come and go, but you stay on, and, therefore, there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders. You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader—this is not your business. Whichever Government is formed according to the constitution, and whoever happens to be the Prime Minister or Minister coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve that Government loyally and faithfully, but, at the same time, fearlessly, maintaining your high reputation, your

prestige, your honour and the integrity of your service. If you will start with that determination, you will make a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan, of our conception and our dream—a glorious State and one of the greatest nations in the world.

"While impressing this upon you on your side, I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism—which is a horrible disease and for which not only your Province but others too, are suffering—if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan.

"I hope that each one of you will understand his own sphere of duty and responsibility and act with others harmoniously and in complete co-operation, keeping in mind that each has to do his duty within the sphere to which he belongs. If you on your side start with that determination and enthusiasm—and I hope the other side will also realize what a terrible evil they are raising up and how it demoralises the services to try and influence this department or that department, this officer or that officer—and if you will stick to your determination you will have done a great service to your nation. Putting pressure and influence on service people, I know, is a very common fault of politicians and those with influence in politicial parties, but I hope that you will now, from today, resolve and determine to act according to my humble advice that I am giving you.

"May be some of you may fall victim for not satisfying the whims of Ministers. I hope it does not happen, but you may even be put to trouble not because you are doing anything wrong but because you are doing right. Sacrifices have to be made and I appeal to you, if need be, to come forward and make the sacrifice and face the position of being put on the black list or being

otherwise worried or troubled. If you will give me the opportunity of your sacrifices, some of you at least, believe me, we will find a remedy for that very soon. I tell you that you will not remain on the black list if you discharge your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State. It is you who can give us the opportunity to create a powerful machinery which will give you a complete sense of security.

"Everybody should realize that there is a fundamental and vital change of the entire Government and the Constitution under which we are working. You should try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair deal, and justice is done to everybody. And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice has been done to them. There may be some selfish people—and I know your class is no exception—who think of immediate advantages, and work or act for better prospects and promotions and so on for themselves, and therefore, for the time being, they create difficulties and sometimes they describe themselves lovers of their province and sometimes they start slogans about outsiders such as Punjabis, Sindhis or Pathans. All such things are a hindrance and an obstruction in the way of galvanizing the people and welding them together as one great nation. It is not that we want to put any difficulty in the way of the sons of the province. No doubt, it is your province. If you have men who are fit for high jobs, I assure you, they will not escape our notice. You should draw our attention and tell us that there is a man; and not only shall we be very glad that he should flourish, prosper and progress in this province, but we shall see to it that he is given his proper place in Pakistan. We want men who are fit for high jobs and sometimes it is really difficult to find the right type of men. There are so many things that are going on and I sometimes find great difficulty in getting the right man for the right post. It is very difficult, I am trying my best to get the right men. If you will give me time and your support and co-operation, believe me, that the field for service is not going to be

confined so far as you are concerned, to your province but will be extended to the whole of Pakistan. Of course, it must take time; it cannot be done at once. I hope that with assistance, co-operation and support from you and from the people, we shall be able to make very rapid progress.

"Finally, I congratulate you for having done well so far. The dangerous position in which we were placed when we took over power from the British Government, has passed. It was a big task and things were made difficult for us. I need not go into details, but you know we were constantly faced with an organized plan to crush Pakistan and to break us. In other provinces as well as in your province, the services have done well in spite of all that. We have warded off and withstood all machinations, and your province has not lagged behind in this respect. And, therefore, I sincerely congratulate you for the way in which you have managed things here, and I hope that you will continue in the same spirit. There is plenty of room for improvement. We have to learn a lot and we have to adjust ourselves to new developments, new issues which are facing us. But I am sure you will play your part well.

"I thank you for giving me this opportunity of saying these few words. I wish you all success in efforts."

The Pakistan Times, April 15, 1948.

1087

Address at the Presentation of Colours to the 2/15th Punjab Machine-Gun Regiment, Peshawar, April 15, 1948.

"This occasion which has afforded me opportunity of presenting colours to your Regiment is an honour of which I need hardly say that I feel very proud. The qualities that are required for the making of a Regiment like yours are of a very

high order such as an unbounded sense of discipline, loyalty, selfless devotion to duty and physical endurance. A man cannot at all times be thinking of great qualities—and indeed he would be a poor sort of man if he were to lose himself in an analysis of qualities—but let me tell you in a nutshell, they are all embodied in one simple phrase—loyalty to your Regiment—and your colours are a symbol and a reminder of what your Regiment stands for just as you stand for your Nation. It is not for me to praise your records in the battles that you have fought: that is a matter of history and facts. But I may venture to say that I have learnt of your heroic deeds with great interest and pride. But a regiment has much more to do than be in the firing lines of the battlefield, and you have, I hope, more years peace than war before you.

"Live always true to the ideals to which you have just dedicated yourselves afresh—to the service of Pakistan, and make your contribution to the protection of the weak and to the hallowed memory of your comrades and thus enhance the glory of Islam.

"It is not words that count so much as deeds and I am confident that you will live up to your traditions when you are called upon to defend your country and the safety and security of your Nation. You will, I am sure, hold aloft the banner of Pakistan and maintain its honour and prestige as a great Nation.

"In your new journey, let me tell you that you have my best wishes."

The Pakistan Times, April 16, 1948.

1088

Address to the Tribal Jirga at Government House, Peshawar, April 17, 1948.

"I have been looking forward since long to meet you, representatives of the Tribes of the North-West Frontier, and it has given me very great pleasure indeed to have met you here today. I am sorry I have not been able to visit you in your own parts of the country, but I hope to be able to do so sometime in the future.

"I thank you for your welcome to me and for the kind personal references you have made about me. Whatever I have done, I did as a servant of Islam, and only tried to perform my duty and made every possible contribution within my power to help our Nation. It has been my constant endevour to try to bring about unity among Musalmans, and I hope that in the great task of reconstruction and building up Great and Glorious Pakistan, that is ahead of us, you realize that solidarity is now more essential than it ever was for achieving Pakistan, which by the grace of God we have already done. I am sure that I shall have your fullest support in this mission. I want every Musalman to do his utmost and help me and support me in creating complete solidarity among the Musalmans, and I am confident that you will not lag behind any other individual or part of Pakistan. We Musalmans believe in one God, one Book—the Holy Quran—and one Prophet. So we must stand united as one Nation. You know the old saying that in unity lies strength; united we stand, divided we fall.

"I am glad to note that you have pledged your loyalty to Pakistan, and that you will help Pakistan with all your resources and ability. It will certainly be my constant solicitude and indeed that of my Government to try to help you to educate your children and with your co-operation and help we may very soon succeed in making a great progress in this direction.

"Your desire for entering the Pakistan Service in the Civil and Military will receive my full consideration and that of my Government, and I hope that some progress would be made in this direction also without unnecessary delay.

"You have also expressed your desire that the benefits, such as your allowances and *Khassadari*, that you have had in the past and are receiving, should continue. Neither my Government nor I have any desire to modify the existing arrangements except in consultation with you so long as you remain loyal and faithful to Pakistan.

"I know there has been scarcity of foodgrains, cloth and sugar. You must realize that we have all been passing through difficult times all over the world and Pakistan is no exception; indeed the whole world is facing hardships, but we are not unmindful of this problem, and we are endeavouring to the utmost of our capacity, with special care for Baluchistan and the Frontier Province, and you will not be neglected in this respect. We will do our utmost to see that essential commodities reach you in time and in reasonably sufficient quantities. I am hoping and looking forward to the time when more normal conditions may present themselves to us, so that we may be able to live with more ease and comfort in the way of food, clothing, housing and all the necessities of life.

"In the end, I warmly thank you for the whole-hearted and unstinted declaration of your pledge and your assurances to support Pakistan, so that it may reach the pinnacle of glories of Islam and become a great and mighty nation among other nations of the world. *Pakistan Zindabad*" (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 18, 1948.

1089

Speech in reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Principal, Staff and Students of the Edwards College, Peshawar, April 18, 1948.

"Mr. Principal, Members of the Staff and my Student-friends!

"I am no stranger to this institution. I came here, as your Address rightly records, in 1936. Well, perhaps many of you do not know what happened then. But, Mr. Principal, the sympathy and the kindness that your institution showed me at that time, I shall always remember. I was, to put it in one word, literally dismissed from this province in 1937. But that did not dishearten me. I came again, I believe, in 1945 or 1946 during the time of the last election. I found then that there was great change, but, unfortunately, on that occasion also we were defeated. I do not like to remind you of unpleasant things. My young friends, ladies and gentlemen, I would say one word and it is this that this province of yours had to undergo a lot of suffering and trouble, but it was ultimately saved by the grace of God. Today, I am happy to see better things here. What more can one really expect than to see that this mighty land has now been brought under a rule, which is Islamic, Muslim rule, as a sovereign independent State. Now, we have much more difficult tasks ahead—how to reconstruct, how to build it up and how to revolutionize and remodel the past legacies from which we are suffering, namely, the mentality, the character and the evil customs of which we have been the victims for a century or more as slave people.

"Mr. Principal, everytime I came, your institution was kind to me and today, you were good enough to pay a compliment of the highest order. I thank you, your staff and my young friends. I am very glad to note from the address of the development of this institution. The history of your College is

one which any student should feel proud of. It is very gratifying to learn of your many activities in the realm of education and the spreading of knowledge and learning amongst the people of the Frontier. In your address, Mr. Principal, you have touched on subjects to which I am paying close attention. I am glad you are giving a new reorientation to the system of education. I entirely agree that instead of turning mere clerks and Governmet servants your College is now offering suitable subjects for students, which would enable them to take their places in commerce, trade, industry, banking and insurance business. It should be the aim of our colleges to produce first class experts in Agriculture, Zoology, Engineering, Medicine and other specialized subjects. Only thus shall we be able to come to grips with the problems that are now facing us in the task of raising the standard of living, specially of the common man. The interests of the Frontier Province are naturally close to my heart. Its affairs are more directly the concern of the Ofiice that I have the honour to hold. I can assure you, therefore, I shall watch with great interest what this institution is doing to help in spreading education amongst the people of this Province. I am very glad to note that the Provincial Government and your Prime Minister are looking after your institution so well and extend to you their help and guidance. Mr. Principal, this is the most refreshing note that I have observed in your address, a thing which is generally very rare. It is when you say, "we do not mean to take this opportunity of placing our needs before you, because we are being very well looked after by the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, who is a great source of inspiration to us". This is, as I have said, very rare. Generally every class, every section, every association, every individual is used to a system and a method. It is either full of praises and flattery, which is demoralizing, or it is full of grievances and complaints. Most of the addresses are nothing, but petitions and prayers. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not blame you. It is the fault of the system under which we have been working and which has so demoralized our people. They do not

see, they cannot realize what a revolutionary and basic change has taken place. Now, you have not to submit petitions and prayers. This Government is your Government. But every Government is slow to move with regard to its policy, with regard to its programme. The Administration moves in a particular way, and this applies to every sovereign independent Government. No doubt, I do not claim that ours is a model Administration. Far from it. I do not say that our Government has, within the few months that we have been in power, been always right. No, far from it. There is plenty of room for improvement in our Administration and in those who are incharge of the Government, the Ministers in the provinces and at the Centre, including myself. Everyday we learn but now I want you to keep your heads up as citizens of a free and independent sovereign State. Praise your Government when it deserves. Criticize your Government fearlessly when it deserves, but do not go on all the time attacking, indulging in destructive criticism, taking delight in running down the Ministry or the officials. They are not now bureaucrats. This is not a foreign Government that you should take delight in exaggerating things, in indulging in destructive criticism. This is your Government. It is quite different from its predecessor. Therefore, appreciate when a good thing is done. Certainly criticize fearlessly, when a wrong thing is done. I welcome criticism, but it must be honest and constructive. Mind you, by that method you will improve matters more quickly for the benefit of our own people.

"Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have done me and this is the third time that you have received me so warmly. I hope in future also, I shalll have the honour and the opportunity of visiting your institution." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 20, 1948.

1090

Address to a public meeting, Peshawar, April 20, 1948.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah addressing a mammoth public meeting made a fervent appeal to the people of the Frontier Province to remain united under the banner of the Muslim League as they had been during their struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

The Quaid-i-Azam warned the people against the grave national emergency existing both internally and externally and stressed that under the circumstances they should have only one political party.

He advised the people not to believe in new mushroom-like political parties organized by erstwhile anti-Pakistan elements, to avoid domestic controversies, petty quarrels and provincialism.

Referring to "evil legacies" of the past, the Quaid-i-Azam said that these could only be eradicated if they stood united as one nation and fully supported their Government.

"We have still a long way to build up Pakistan," the Quaid-i-Azam said, "but I have no doubt that by the grace of God, by adopting right methods and the right course we shall march along to make it one of the greatest States of the world."

The Quaid-i-Azam continued:

"Do not be misled. You have seen, you have realized, that it is the Muslim League and the Muslim League alone that has saved the Frontier Province from going into the clutches of Hindu Raj. That Party has made sacrifices, and thousands have died in the achievement of Pakistan. Do you think that the Muslim League can give you the right lead or those who are against us, those who were in the enemy camp. Are they entitled to look after Pakistan or we?"

Bribery and Nepotism

Concluding, the Quaid-Azam observed:

"No doubt, we have got men who are selfish. I know we have got men who are selfish. I know we have men who are guilty of jobbery, bribery and nepotism. I know all this is going on. I do not say that the Government is perfect, but now we have got the reins of the Government, believe me, we are wide awake. We are watching your Government, your Province, your Ministry, your Civil Services and what is generally happening in this Province. It is under our searchlight and there is no doubt we shall be soon able to x-ray it and throw out the poison from our body politic. But you must have a little patience and give us a chance and a reasonable time." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 21, 1948.

1091

Speech at the opening ceremony of the First Pakistan Olympic Games, Karachi, April 22, 1948.

"Pir Illahi Baksh, Mr. Ahmed Jaffer, Members of the Organizing and other Committees, Ladies and Gentlemen!

"It has given me great pleasure to come here today to perform the opening ceremony of the first Pakistan Olympic Games. I agreed to become the patron-in-chief of the Pakistan Olympic Association in the realization that the success of our people in all walks of life depends upon the cultivation of *"Sound Minds"*, the natural concomitant to *"Sound Bodies"*. To the athletes and youth of the nation I bid welcome. My message to you is: build up physical strength not for aggression, not for militarism, but for becoming fighting fit, all your life and all the time in every walk of life of your nation wherever you be and always to be a force for peace, international amity and goodwill.

After these games you shall go to the World Olympiad at Wembley Stadium, London, representing us as messengers of our goodwill and my best wishes will go with you. Remember to win is nothing, it is the effort and the spirit behind the effort that count.

"To the organizers of Olympic games I say well done for successfully completing the preparations for this meet in sc short a time. You say you want a Stadium and are planning tc hold Pan-Islamic Olympics in 1950; and I hope your wishes may materialize. It all depends on you. Your demand for a State Department of Physical Culture and Education is one which requires consideration of Pakistan Government. I hope that they will examine this aspect of the matter in dealing with many educational problems that are facing us.

"In the end, I thank you for your warm welcome and wish you every success." (A.P.I.)

The Pakistan Times, April 23, 1948.

1091

Speech in reply to the Adress presented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Karachi, April 27, 1948.

"Mr. Chairman, Members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Ladies and Genltemen!

"It gives me great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to be here this morning with you all at this your 88th Annual General Meeting. I presume it is an accident to hold this meeting in the premises of the Karachi Cotton Association, for one can hardly dissociate Karachi from commerce and the commerce of this place from cotton. You have, Mr. Chairman, covered a very wide field in your address, from the founding of the sovereign and independent State of Pakistan to the petty usurpations of power

by minor officials here and there over this far-flung Dominion, from the intricacies of cotton trade to the common place of delays. You will, however, hardly expect me to follow you in every detail in my reply. I cannot, however, let an opportunity, such as you have presented to me today, pass without calling attention to certain salient points arising out of your address.

"Let me, Mr. Chairman, first acknowledge the tribute which you have justly paid to my Government and my people for the manner in which they faced up to the tragic events which so closely followed the establishment of Pakistan. It was inevitable that many otherwise sensible people should greet Pakistan as an unwanted and intolerable child whose birth could not long survive their displeasure. You have rightly pointed out how mistaken were the people who, because the idea of Pakistan was new and unfamiliar to them, thought that Pakistan would have but only an ephemeral existence. None can now doubt, in your words, Mr. Chairman, that a new Power was born among the nations of the world on August 15, 1947. The difficulties and the tribulations through which Pakistan has passed have helped to strengthen and temper the new State into steel which is now well and truly set upon the course on the uncharted seas of the future. The people who have made effort which secured their separate freedom in the face of derision, disbelief and the utmost political opposition will not fail to make the additional effort necessary to consolidate their liberties, and any delusion or elusion from which some people still suffer, let me make it clear, that the sooner they bring their notion—Pakistan surrendering to India or seeking Union with Central Government—the better it will be for peace and prosperity of both the Dominions and will help a great deal to establish goodwill and neighbourly good feelings.

"I am glad to note that you are disaffiliating your Chambers from the Associated Chambers of Comerce of India as a necessary corollary of the Partition, and intend to form an Association of your Pakistan Chambers of Commerce.

"You, Mr. Chairman, have rightly given pride of place to cotton in dealing with trade and commerce. I am glad to know that you have recognized that Pakistan's cotton policy could not have been more liberal or less restrictive than it was until the impact of India's decision to decontrol cloth and refuse it to us except in return for cotton, forced measures of regulation on us. Even so, all contracts made before 23rd January, 1948 by traders in Pakistan—national or foreign—were honoured. That the cotton trade should have shown such admirable capacity to adjust itself to changing conditions is a matter for gratification. I would like to express the appreciation of the Government of Pakistan for the manner in which traders have played their part in helping to move cotton to the port and from the port to the markets of the world.

"You have also referred at some length to the import policy of the Government of Pakistan and internal controls exercised within the country and have pleaded that as few handicaps should be placed on trading as possible. Regulation and restriction with their attendant administrative evils will be imposed only where conditions compel, and any expressions of opinion you care to make from time to time will always receive my Ministry's careful thought. I can assure you on behalf of the Government of Pakistan that it is their intention and policy to let the channels of free trading flow as freely as possible. In so far as the internal controls on essential commodities are concerned, my Government have already decided to review them at a conference with the provinces in an attempt to relax and remove as many of these as circumstances would now permit. So far as overseas trade is concerned a considerable sector of imports has been released from licensing by the notification of an Open General Licence for a wide range of goods coming from Commonwealth sterling countries. This list will be kept under constant review with the object of expanding it and the question of including therein imports from other soft currency areas is now receiving the attention of the Ministry of Commerce. The

situation in regard to dollar imports and other hard currencies is, of course, very difficult and licensing must continue to protect the balance of payments. Even in this field, however, you can assist by bending your energies to directing and increasing our exports to dollar and hard currency countries. This, fortunately, should not be difficult in the case of the major Pakistani raw materials and I shall look forward, gentlemen, to your constant support in this matter. Anything that Government can do to facilitate exports to these areas by removing as many restrictions as possible will be done. I have little doubt, gentlemen, that your efforts in this direction will bear fruit as we are rich in the commodities which the world so badly requires, like cotton, jute, hides, skins and wool. You have made a plea that in the interests of trade, Government should make an announcement of the import policy in good time. The Government of Pakistan fully appreciate this view and will do all they can to make as early announcement as circumstances would permit. The uncertain factors which delayed the announcement of their policy in the past will, Government hope, not recur in future.

"The complete breakdown of the banking and financial mechanism in the West Punjab is a matter which governmental action alone cannot remedy. We can make the conditions as favourable as possible but bankers alone can repair the machine. It is our unalterable determination to maintain law and order and to secure and retain public confidence in our administration of affairs. In this context and given your goodwill, the reconstruction and restoration of our commerce and trade should proceed apace. This is my appeal to you today, gentlemen, to make a steady and sustained effort to help us to help you.

"There is one matter, Mr. Chairman, which you have mentioned only in passing, namely, the statement issued by my Government on the Industrial Policy of Pakistan. The statement is of such far-reaching character that I would ask of you as a business community to examine it with the care and attention

which the importance of the subject and the direct bearing it has on your own well-being requires. That my Government should have taken time to consider matters carefully before fomulating their policy which must vitally affect the future of the country, is a matter that need not cause any sense of frustration. For I am reminded in this connection of an observation of that wise man, Francis Bacon who said— "It is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes and the ends to Briarcus with his hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed". Whilst I do not propose to recapitulate the statement here, I would like to call your particular attention to the keen desire of the Government of Pakistan to associate individual initiative and private enterprise at every stage of industrialization. The number of industries Government have reserved for management by themselves consists of Arms and Munitions of War, generation of Hydel Power and manufacture of Railway wagons, Telephones, Telegraph and Wireles apparatus. All other industrial activity is left open to private enterprise which would be given every facility a Government can give for the establishment and development of industry. Government will seek to create conditions in which industry and trade may develop and prosper by undertaking surveys of Pakistan's considerable resources of minerals, schemes for the development of country's water and power resources, plans for the improvement of transport services and the establishment of the ports and an Industrial Finance Corporation. Just as Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced country in the Continent of Asia as mentioned by you, I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will, with the traditions of craftsmanship for which her people are so well-known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field. I am glad to know that you are favourably impressed with the concessions announced by the Finance Minister to new industrial enterprises in the matter of Income Tax and depreciation and

that you regard the statement as holding out more encouragement to new industry than the corresponding statement of policy made by the Government of India. If you want any clarification of any aspect of the policy, my Government will be only too willing to furnish the same.

"Fortunately, in the Port of Karachi, we have adequate facilities to handle not only the trade of Western Pakistan but also such trade as offers for Afghanistan and the adjoining areas of the Indian Dominion. For reasons in to which I need not here enter, this trade has suffered a sever setback since Partition. I hope that in everybody's interest you will endeavour to restore Karachi's standing in this regard. I have no doubt that the Port of Karachi has very bright future. It is the only port which serves this side of Pakistan and the location of the Pakistan Naval Headquarters has added greatly to its importance. I can look with confidence to its rapid development. The scheme for remodelling the East Wharf and the provision of Naval and Commercial Dry Docks is under our active consideration and should, when completed, make Karachi one of the most modern ports. I may assure the business community that I am watching with keen interest the present and future interests of the port.

"The end of the period of "Standstill" and the consequent entry of India and Pakistan into normal international relations, should advance and give precision to the movement of trade. Bonding facilities are being provided by my Government in Karachi port for this purpose. On the other side of the subcontinent, the Government of India have also agreed to provide bonding facilities in Calcutta so that from now on, the capacity of the Port of Chittagong to handle raw jute will be supplemented by transit facilities through the Port of Calcutta.

"In the field of Civil Aviation, Pakistan is fortunate in having at Karachi, the best equipped airport in the East. Its position and climate are in its favour and now that Karachi has become the capital of Pakistan, there is no likelihood of the

Airport ever losing its importance. Its pre-eminent position will be maintained as we are alive to the need of its continued development in accordance with the international standards and to the need of facilitating in everyway national and international air transport operations. Karachi will remain one of the main centres of international air traffic as most of the progressive countries of the world have approached us for bilateral air transport agreements and we already have agreements with U.S.A., France, Netherlands, Iraq and recently negotiated agreements with India and Ceylon. Delegations from U.K. and other countries are expected in Karachi soon. For all these Karachi will remain the airport of entry and departure. The use of Bombay as the port of entry for Trans-World Airlines was provided for in the Air Transport Agreement between the U.S.A. and India before Partition and does not indicate a subsequent tendency to transfer operations from Karachi to Bombay. On this service, Karachi Airport was used, in the first instance, as a temporary measure pending the provision of health facilities at Santa Cruz. You have referred to rise in airline operating costs occasioned by the recently increased cost of aviation spirits in Pakistan. This is a question which I have no doubt will be considered by my Government in the light of your observations.

"I am glad to hear that you have appreciated the difficulties which beset Orient Airways in establishing, at a very short notice, vital air communications within Pakistan between Eastern and Western Pakistan and between Karachi and Delhi and between Karachi and Bombay. These arrangements had to be made on a temporary basis while a long-term national air transport policy was being formulated. The Government announced their policy on the 5th of December, 1947, limiting air transport operations to two commercial airlines to be selected for the operation of all the scheduled services to be licensed by the Government. The names of these companies will be announced shortly together with the routes to be operated by them subject to finalization of agreement recently negotiated

with the Government of India. To serve these companies and to a large extent, the Royal Pakistan Air Force, it is also proposed to establish, at Karachi, a company to carry out major overhaul and repair of aircraft, the training of mechanics and maintenance engineers, and such other common services as the Government and airlines may require. The Government will participate financially in this enterprise and plans for the establishment of this company are now under active consideration of the Government.

"You have referred to the difficulties experienced by your members on account of the uncertainty of booking restrictions. As you are aware, booking restrictions have been rendered necessary on account of coal shortage due to spasmodic and insufficient receipt from India. The North Western Railway has always endeavoured to move as much traffic as possible with their available resources. The movement of refugees placed a heavy strain on the Railway's capacity at a time when coal receipts were at their lowest, but in spite of these difficulties essential goods. e.g. foodstuffs, kept on moving though restrictions had perforce to be imposed on the movement of goods carried under lower priorities. The Railways, however, relaxed restrictions to the extent possible whenever there was even a slight improvement in coal receipts, but whenever the coal position deteriorated restrictions were reimposed. In spite of the manifold difficulties created by inadequate supplies of coal from India, the refugee traffic, the numerous staff problems created by Partition, the Railway administration, as and when the position improved, restored the facilities which had to be curtailed from time to time. I hope that the Chamber would appreciate their efforts in keeping the rail transport going. There was some improvement in the coal position on the North Western Railway during February and March and as you are aware, unrestricted booking was resumed with effect from 4th March in local bookings and from 12th April in foreign bookings. Unfortunately, coal supplies from India have been inadequate

during April and, although some of the coal ordered from the U.S.A. has been received, stocks are dwindling. Representations have been made to India, and it is hoped that there will be no reimposition of the previous unfortunate restrictions, except those occasionally imposed for operational reasons.

"As regards the complaint that the railway staff at stations are unaware of the restrictions imposed from time to time, I am advised that all restrictions are conveyed to stations immediately on their imposition. It is possible that in the early days after Partition, due to large-scale transfers of staffs, there was a certain amount of disorganization resulting in incorrect information relating to restrictions is conveyed to merchants.

"As regards preparation of claims, I hope you are aware of the provisions of the Indian Independence (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order 1947, under which the liabilities and financial obligations of the Governor-General in Council, outstanding immediately before 15th August, 1947, devolved on the Dominion of India. The Pakistan Government have already made the position in this respect clear in their Press Note of the 25th March, 1948. The matter is under correspondence with the Government of India and it is hoped that a settlement in regard to this outstanding question will be reached at an early date.

"Reference has been made by you to the difficulties and anxieties which naturally spring from shortage of residential and office accommodation in this town. The Government of Pakistan have, subject to the approval of the Constituent Assembly, decided to locate the permanent capital of Pakistan at Karachi, Detailed planning of the layout will take some time but this should not delay construction of some residential accommodation. In this field, as in many others, gentlemen, you have a big contribution to make. There are vast open areas where buildings could, with advantage, be constructed. Building materials such as cement and stone are avilable in abundance, though steel and timber are rather scarce. All the same, my

Government would like to see the business community take up a programme of largescale building construction in Karachi.

"Mr. Chairman, Commerce and Trade are the very life-blood of the Nation. I can no more visualize a Pakistan without traders than I can one without cultivators or civil servants. I have no doubt that in Pakistan, traders and merchants will always be welcome and that they, in building up their own fortunes, will not forget their social responsibility for a fair and square deal to one and all, big and small. Government have for sometimes been perturbed over the constantly rising spiral of prices of the necessities of life in Pakistan. They are now engaged in a study of how best the spiral could be broken and prices brought down. I have little doubt that my Government can confidently count on your full support in every measure they may decide to take to achieve this object.

"Commerce, gentlemen, is more international than culture and it behoves you to behave in such a way that the power and prestige of Pakistan would be an effective instrument in the establishment and maintenance of high standards of business integrity and practice. If Pakistan goods are to establish for themselves a reputation all their own, a beginning must be made now and here. I assure you, gentlemen, that anything my Government can do to achieve this end, they shall do. I would like Pakistan to become a synonym and hallmark for standard and quality in the market places of the world.

"Let me, Mr Chairman, thank you once again for the honour you have done me in asking me to be the guest of your Chamber on this occasion. I wish you and your Chamber well in the many years that lie ahead of us and may you, as true Pakistanis, help to reconstruct and build Pakistan to reach mighty and glorious status amongst the comity of nations of the world and that let us pray that Pakistan will make its contribution for peace, happiness and prosperity of the world."

The Pakistan Times, April 28-29, 1948.

1093

Message to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on his appointment as Governor-General of the Indian Dominion, Karachi, May 5, 1948.

"My warm congratulations on your appointment as Governor-General of the Indian Dominion. Under your guidance, I hope, will come friendship between the two Dominions. It is no less essential to India than to Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, May 7, 1948.

1094

Address in reply to the speech made by the Ambassador of Afghanistan at the time of presenting credentials, Karachi, May 8, 1948.

Your Royal Highness!

"It gives me very great pleasure indeed to welcome you today as the first Ambassador from Afghanistan. The Government and people of Pakistan greatly appreciate the action of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan in sending to us an Ambassador from the Royal family of Afghanistan. We hope and trust that with a Representative of Your Royal Highness's distinction and experience the age-old links which bind our two peoples will be further strengthened thus paving the way for a bright and happy future for both our countries.

"Your Royal Highness has rightly referred to the natural bonds of friendship and affection which bind the people of our two countries. It could hardly be otherwise as these bonds are based on ties of faith and culture and common ideals. With such powerful bonds already in our favour we cannot, I feel, fail to

bring the people of our two countries closer towards each other and closer than they were before the birth of Pakistan.

"As a new-born State, Pakistan desires nothing so ardently as the goodwill of the world. Its people are determined to work with heart and soul in the task of consolidating their new liberty and while so engaged in this great task they will be deeply conscious of the help and co-operation extended to them by the other States of the world, particularly at this moment. We are indeed glad that we have amongst us today a distinguished representative of our closest neighbour, and, Pakistan, I am sure, very much appreciates the message of good wishes Your Excellency has brought to us.

"Your Royal Highness can rest assured that in striving to cement the bonds of friendship that already exist between our two peoples and my Government will give you all possible help and co-operation. Coming as you do as a representative of the great Muslim nation, you are most welcome to us and we hope and trust that you will be able to discharge your duties successfully in the light of your good wishes and sentiments for Pakistan.

"I hope that Your Royal Highness's stay in Karachi will be very happy and comfortable." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, May 9, 1948.

1095

Speech in reply to the Address presented by a Deputation of members of the Quetta Parsi community, Quetta, June 13, 1948.

Gentlemen!

"I am very pleased indeed to meet you all and have an opportunity of hearing your well considered views about

Baluchistan, and I have no doubt in your sincerity and loyalty to Pakistan. Your community is really very well organized and I am happy—and I always say so—that it is better equipped than any other community that I know of in the sub-continent. You, therefore, although small in number, can make very great contribution to the welfare and progress of Pakistan and particularly Baluchistan.

"Now coming nearer to Baluchistan, I know that people have not yet fully realized what present Constitution is—that is true of even of well-informed and well-educated people. The establishment of Pakistan was a cataclysmic change and thus came so suddenly that people have not yet fully realized what it is. I dwelt on this point in my Sibi speech and may I, therefore, request you to read that speech if you get a copy of it. I cannot go into all the details but I think as citizens you ought to know what is the real position. Under the present constitution it is the Governor-General who is vested with all authority—executive, administrative and legislative—in Baluchistan. I am, therefore, directly responsible for all executive, administrative and legislative measures that may be necessary to be adopted in Baluchistan. Rightly or wrongly the burden is placed on my shoulders. Now, you must have realized that Baluchistan has been the most neglected part of this sub-continent all these years. In some respects it is criminal negligence on the part of those who were responsible for the welfare of Baluchistan. You have got a deep-rooted ancient century-old system which is in vogue here and your administration has been stagnant for nearly a century. This is a problem that I am faced with as the Executive Head of Baluchistan. Now you cannot change these things overnight but we can make wonderful progress and advancement if we all work together sincerely, honestly and selflessly and as servants of Baluchistan.

"In the very nature of things it will take eighteen months to two years before the new Constitution of Pakistan is ready but we cannot wait until that work is completed and, therefore, I

have made a small beginning, but a very important one, after consulting various interests in Baluchistan, namely, I have decided to set up Governor-General's Advisory council. I am at it and perhaps very shortly the constitution, rules and procedure of that body will be announced. That is of course, a small beginning as I have said but a very important one and if as they say small things lead to very great things and if you handle it and manage it properly I am sure it will result in great progress and development of Baluchistan. But as I have said, it will depend on how the people of Baluchistan will handle the Governor-General's Advisory Council. This Council will enable people to associate themselves, no doubt as an advisory body, with administration—its executive and legislative side. That is the first step that I have taken because I cannot wait until we have final Constitution of Pakistan ready.

"As regards your points regarding shortage of water supply and communications they are already under examination and with the help of our people and with their co-operation and advice we may be able to make some headway in both these matters.

"As regards potentialities of Baluchistan you are right. I have a great deal of information about it. That question is under our examination and I think there is a great future for Baluchistan's development of its mineral wealth, agricultural resources, water supply, communication etc.

"Finally, Gentlemen, I am sure, though small in number you may be in Baluchistan and in Pakistan as a whole, you will not lag behind in making your full contribution as true selfless Pakistanis. Although you have not struck any note of your needs and requirements as a community but you know that it is the policy of my Government and myself that every member of every community irrespective of caste, colour, creed or race shall be fully protected with regard to his life, property and honour and that there should be peace in Pakistan and law and order

should be maintained at any cost. I reiterate that you, like any other minorities, will be treated as equal citizens with all your rights and obligations so long as you are loyal to Pakistan. I am glad and it is very refreshing that you have not gone on with the same old rut and the hackneyed phrases which are echoed in various quarters about the grievances and requests of minorities, but I must tell you that these assurances have been given and they are going to be implemented. Minority communities must not by mere words but by actions show this that they are truly loyal and they must make majority communtiy feel that they are true citizens of Pakistan. Then you will help me and you will facilitate my task in carrying out the policy which we have laid down. You know you must dispel suspicion and distrust. It is now up to minorities to show by actions and deeds that they are true Pakistanis and dispel suspicion and distrust that has been created by deplorable and disgraceful events that have taken place.

"In the end, I thank you and I am very pleased to meet you all. Let us put our heads together and work together and make Pakistan what it really and truly deserves to be."

The Pakistan Times, June 14, 1948.

1096

Address to the Officers of the Staff College, Quetta, June 14, 1948.

"I thank you, gentlemen, for the honour you have done me and Miss Fatima Jinnah by inviting us to meet you all. You, alongwith other Forces of Pakistan, are the custodians of the life, property and honour of the people of Pakistan. The Defence Forces are the most vital of all Pakistan Services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders.

"I have no doubt in my mind, from what I have seen and from what I have gathered, that the spirit of the Army is splendid, the morale is very high, and what is very encouraging is that every officer and soldier, no matter what the race or community to which he belongs, is working as a true Pakistani.

"If you all continue in that spirit and work as comrades, as true Pakistanis, selflessly, Pakistan has nothing to fear.

"One thing more. I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers I discovered that they did not know the implications of the Oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of form; what is more important is the true spirit and the heart.

"But it is an important form and I would like to take the opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you:

"I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and the Dominion of Pakistan (mark the words Constitution and the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan) and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the Dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrolment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me..."

"As I have said just now, the spirit is what really matters. I should like you to study the Constitution which is in force in Pakistan at present and understand its true constitutional and legal implications when you say that you will be faithful to the Constitution of the Dominion.

"I want you to remember and if you have time enough you should study the Government of Inida Act, as adapted for use in Pakistan, who is the Governor-General and, therefore, any command or orders that may come to you cannot come

without the sanction of the Executive Head. This is the legal position.

"Finally, gentlemen, let me thank you for the honour that you have done me by inviting me. I will be glad to meet the officers informally, as suggested by the General Officer Commanding in his speech, and such a meeting can be arranged at a time convenient to us both. I have every desire to keep in close contact when I have little more time from the various problems that are facing us in Pakistan, which is for the moment in a state of national emergency, and when things settle down—and I hope it will be very soon—then I shall find more time to establish greater and greater contact with the Defence Forces." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette June 15, 1948.

1097

Speech in reply to the Civic Address presented by the Quetta Municipality, Quetta, June 16, 1948.

"I thank you for your address of welcome and for the kind words and good wishes you have expressed for me and Miss Fatima Jinnah, and I greatly appreciate your handsome and generous contribution to the Relief Fund and the noble cause which it represents. Though luckily Baluchistan was spared the tragedy which the Punjab went through on the establishment of Pakistan, and, on account of its situation, does not face the refugee problem in the same way as other parts of Pakistan do, the welfare of refugees and all who suffered because Pakistan was achieved is the responsibility of us all. The relief and rehabilitation of these stricken people is a matter of great importance and urgency for Pakistan for, until they become useful members of the society, the progress of Pakistan will not

be fully accelerated. Every effort made in this direction, therefore, is most welcome as it will advance the cause of progress and welfare of Pakistan.

"Quetta has been for many years an important town and cantonment; with the establishment of Pakistan, its importance has increased and will increase further. Its situation and healthy climate entitle it to special attention, and I am, therefore, really glad that despite the havoc brought by the earthquakes of 1935 and the disabilities created by the war later and the dislocation caused by the movement of population more recently it gives the appearance of an orderly and busy town. The credit for this goes to a large extent to the Quetta Municipality and the City Fathers here. The town apparently has been well-planned and whatever permanent buildings have been put up look neat and elegant. I share your hopes that better times are ahead and not very long hence the temporary structures which constitute most of the town at present will be replaced by permanent earthquake-proof buildings. While the municipality should play its part, private enterprise is necessary, so that Quetta may be as great a civil station as a cantonment and the more you improve it the more attractive it will become. For a large part of Western Pakistan it will be the natural summer resort and draw larger and larger number of visitors which will not only be additional source of revenue but will bring and establish contact with other parts of Western Pakistan. This ought to be kept in view. The difficulty regarding water supply and other problems should be tackled with boldness and imagination, and I am sure Government will give you willing help whenever it is needed.

"While, however, one must love one's town and work for its welfare—Indeed because of it—one must love better one's country and work more devotedly for it. Local attachments have their value but what is the value and strength of a "part" except within the "whole". Yet this is a truth people so easily seem to forget and begin to prize local, sectional or provincial interests above and regardless of the national interests. It naturally pains

me to find the curse of provincialism holding sway over any section of Pakistanis. Pakistan must be rid of this evil. It is a relic of the old administration when you clung to provincial autonomy and local liberty of action to avoid control—which meant—British control. But with your own Central Government and its power, it is a folly to continue to think in the same terms, especially at a time when your State is so new and faces such tremendous problems internal and external. At this juncture and subordination of the larger interest of the State to the provincial or local or personal interest would be suicidal.

"Baluchistan is the land of brave independent people and to you, therefore, national freedom, honour, and strength should have a special meaning. These whisperings of *mulki* and non-*mulki* are neither profitable for the land nor worthy of it. We are now all Pakistanis—not Baluchis, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, Punjabis and so on and as Pakistanis we must feel, behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else. I ask you always to pause and consider before taking any step whether it is conditioned by your personal or local likes and dislikes or is determined by considerations of the good of the State. If each individual thus being scrutinizing himself and forces—for initially it will require a certain amount of force—upon himself the principle of honesty to others as well as to himself, regardless of fear or favour. I see a very bright future ahead. If the individuals both officials and non-officials play their part thus and work in this spirit, the Government, the Nation and the State will immediately bear their stamp, and Pakistan will emerge triumphantly as one of the greatest nations of the world.

"As you all know I am specially interested in Baluchistan because it is my special responsibility. I want to see it play as full a part in the affairs of Pakistan as any other province, but it will take time to remove the symptoms of long neglect. In order that this time may not be a minute longer than necessary, I earnestly request you to co-operate with me, to give me your selfless

support, and not to make my task difficult. Representative governments and representative institutions are no doubt good and desirable, but when people want to reduce them merely to channels of personal aggrandisement, they not only lose their value but earn a bad name. Let us avoid that and it is possible only if, as I have said, we subject our actions to perpetual scrutiny and test them with the touch-stone not of personal or sectional interest but of the good of the State.

"I thank you once again for your generous contribution, your courtesy and for the honour you have done me by presenting this civic address and giving me an opportunity to say a few words." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, June 17, 1948.

1098

Speech on the occasion of the opening ceremony of State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi, July 1, 1948.

"Mr. Governor, Directors of the State Bank, Ladies and Gentlemen!

"The opening of the State Bank of Pakistan symbolizes the sovereignty of our State in the financial sphere and I am very glad to be here today to perform the opening ceremony. It was not considered feasible to start a bank of our own simultaneously with the coming into being of Pakistan in August last year. A good deal of preparatory work must precede the inauguration of an institution responsible for such technical and delicate work as note issue and banking. To allow for this preparation, it was provided, under the Pakistan Monetary System and Reserve Bank Order, 1947, that the Reserve Bank of India should continue to be the currency and banking authority in Pakistan till the 30th September, 1948. Later on it was felt

that it would be in the best interests of our State if the Reserve Bank of India were relieved of its functions in Pakistan as early as possible. The date of transfer of these functions to a Pakistan agency was consequently advanced by three months in agreement with the Government of India and the Reserve Bank. It was at the same time decided to establish a Central Bank of Pakistan in preference to any other agency for managing our currency and banking. This decision left very little time for the small band of trained personnel in this field in Pakistan to complete the preliminaries and they have by their untiring effort and hard work completed their task by the due date which is very creditable to them, and I wish to record a note of our appreciation of their labours.

"As you have observed, Mr. Governor, in undivided India banking was kept a close preserve of non-Muslims and their migration from Western Pakistan has caused a good deal of dislocation in the economic life of your young State. In order that the wheels of commerce and industry should run smoothly, it is imperative that the vacuum caused by the exodus of non-Muslims should be filled without delay. I am glad to note that schemes for training Pakistan nationals in banking are in hand. I will watch their progress with interest and I am confident that the State Bank will receive the co-operation of all concerned including the banks and universities in pushing them forward. Banking will provide a new and wide field in which the genius of your young men can find full play. I am sure that they will come forward in large numbers to take advantage of the training facilities which are proposed to be provided. While doing so, they will not only be benefiting themselves but also contributing to the well-being of our State.

"I need hardly dilate on the important role that the State Bank will have to play in regulating the economic life of our country. The monetary policy of the bank will have a direct bearing on our trade and commerce, both inside Pakistan as well as with the outside world and it is only to be desired that your

policy should encourage maximum production and a free flow of trade. The monetary policy pursued during the war years contributed, in no small measure, to our present day economic problems. The abnormal rise in the cost of living has hit the poorer sections of society including those with fixed incomes very hard indeed and is responsible to a great extent for the prevailing unrest in the country. The policy of the Pakistan Government is to stabilize prices at a level that would be fair to the producer, as well as to the consumer. I hope your efforts will be directed in the same direction in order to tackle this crucial problem with success.

"I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organization in evolving practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

"May the State Bank of Pakistan prosper and fulfil the high ideals which have been set as its goal!

"In the end I thank you, Mr. Governor, for the warm welcome given to me by you and your colleagues and the

distinguished guests who have graced this occasion as a mark of their good wishes and the honour you have done me in inviting me to perform this historic opening ceremony of the State Bank which I feel will develop into one of our greatest national institutions and play its part fully throughout the world." (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, July 2, 1948.

1099

Message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, Karachi, August 6, 1948.

"On this day of rejoicing I send my greetings to Muslims all over the world and wish them a very happy Eid.

"For us the last Eid-ul-Fitr which followed soon after the birth of Pakistan was married by the tragic happenings in East Punjab. The blood bath of last year and its aftermath—the mass migration of millions—presented a problem of unprecedented magnitude. To provide new moorings for this mass of drifting humanity strained our energies and resources to breaking point. The immensity of the task very nearly overwhelmed us and we could only just keep our heads above water.

The brief span of 12 months was not sufficient to see all the *Mohajireens* settled in profitable employment in Pakistan. Considerable progress has been made in resettling them but a good many remain to be rehabilitated. We cannot rejoice till everyone of them has been put on his feet again. I am sanguine that by next *Eid* this formidable and intractable problem will have been solved and all the refugees absorbed in Pakistan's economy as useful members of society.

Robust Confidence

"The history of the last 12 months has been one of continuous struggle against heavy odds, but what sustained us

during these dark days was our unity of purpose and firm resolve to see that our young State did not founder under the blows of our enemies. We have weathered the worst storms, and the safety of the shore, though distant, is in sight. We can look to the future with robust confidence provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissensions. There never was greater need for discipline and unity in our ranks. It is only with united effort and faith in our destiny that we shall be able to translate the Pakistan of our dreams into reality. You are celebrating *Eid* today after a month of fasting. Why was fasting enjoined upon Muslims if it were not to teach them discipline and orderliness? These are the virtues to cultivate and in that lies your salvation and that of the nation.

Eye-Opener

"My *Eid* message to our brother Muslim States is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world.

"Let me, therefore, appeal to you—in whatever language you may put, when the essence of my advice is boiled down, it comes to this—that every Musalman should serve Pakistan honestly, sincerely and selflessly."

The Pakistan Times, August 7, 1948.

1100

Message to the Nation on the occasion of the First Anniversary of Pakistan, Karachi, August 14, 1948.

Citizens of Pakistan!

Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of our freedom. A year ago complete power was transferred to the people of Pakistan, and the Pakistan Government, under the present Constitution as adapted, took over charge of the affairs of the country in its own hands. We have faced the year with courage, determination and imagination, and the record of our achievements has been a wonderful one in warding off the blows of the enemy which have been so often referred to before, especially the pre-planned genocide and pushing on with real constructive work internally. The result of our constructive and ameliorative work has gone far beyond the expectations of our best friends. I congratulate you all—my Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Members of the Constituent Assembly and of the legislatures, officials working in various administrative departments and the members of the Defence Forces, for what you have achieved during so short a period, and I thank the people of Pakistan from whom we have received patience and genuine support in every effort that we have made to put forward the programme of the first year.

"But that is not enough. Remember, that the establishment of Pakistan is a fact of which there is no parallel in the history of the world. It is one of the largest Muslim States in the world, and it is destined to play its magnificent part year after year, as we go on, provided we serve Pakistan honestly, earnestly and selflessly.

"I have full faith in my people that they will rise to every occasion worthy of our past Islamic history, glory and traditions.

"The story of the millions of refugees who had to flee from their homes across our borders and seek asylum in Pakistan is well known to you all. The tragedy occurred even before our State had had time to settle down. In fact it involved also a large proportion of the people who, as Government personnel, were to set up the very machinery of the State. I know that it has not been possible to do all that might have been desired for these homeless and oppressed brethren of ours. There are still many hardships that many of them have to face. But the very fact that a large number of the refugees have already been rehabilitated in their new home with prospect of a new and a happier life ahead of them, is an achievement of no mean order. But for the spirit of brotherhood shown by the people of Pakistan and the courage with which the people as well as the Government faced the almost overwhelming difficulties created by a catastrophe, unparallel in the history of the world, the entire structure of the State might well have crumbled down.

"Disappointed in their efforts by other means to strangle the new State at its very birth, our enemies yet hoped that economic manoeuvres would achieve the object they had at heart. With all the wealth of argument and detail, which malice could invent or ill-will devise, they prophesied that Pakistan would be left bankrupt. And what the fire and sword of the enemy could not achieve, would be brought about by the ruined finances of the State. But these prophets of evil have been thoroughly discredited. Our first budget was a surplus one; there is a favourable balance of trade, and a steady and an all-round improvement in the economic field.

"One year is a brief period in the history of a State for finally assessing its progress or predicting its future. But the way in which tremendous difficulties have been overcome, and solid progress recorded during the last twelve months, gives a firm basis for optimism. In the administrative field, we had to start from scratch at the centre. And in the West Punjab, at the very

inception of our State, we had to face very nearly a breakdown of administrative machinery. But I am glad to say that we have successfully dealt with all threats to our solidarity, and on some major questions of the day, the Pakistan Government has displayed not only its determination but its capacity to deal effectively with the various world problems that have arisen from time to time.

"Nature has given you everything: you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God speed! *Pakistan Zindabad*" (A.P.I.)

The Civil & Military Gazette, August 15, 1948.